
THE Commonweal

Reading the Returns

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM

Nuns in the World

MICHAEL NOVAK

Mutiny on the Great Lakes

THOMAS R. BROOKS

Reformation Sunday in Rome

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

VOLUME LXXIX, NO. 10

NOVEMBER 29, 1963

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THE COMMONWEAL

232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, *Editor*
JAMES O'GARA, *Managing Editor*
DANIEL CALLAHAN, *Associate Editor*
JOHN LEO, *Associate Editor*

RICHARD GILMAN, *Drama Critic*
PHILIP T. HARTUNG, *Movie Critic*
WILLIAM V. SHANNON, *Washington*
ROBERT BARRAT, *Paris*
GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN, *Rome*
J. M. CAMERON, *Great Britain*

JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager*

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

A Disappointing Statement

IF OUR Atlas is correct, Williamston, North Carolina, is a town of some six thousand persons in the eastern part of the state. Just what it produces, how it exists, we don't know. In fact, we might never have heard of Williamston had it not been for the surprise of reading that one of our regular contributors, Harvey Cox, had been clapped in jail there along with some fifteen other white Protestant ministers and seventy Negroes. Their offense, of course, was that crime of our day: they were picketing against racial discrimination without a permit from the police.

Change the name of the town, the names of the demonstrators, a detail here and there—and, well, you have a story like all the rest. By now they are routine items in the paper, the kind of thing one ceases to read after awhile. Only the name of a friend is enough to attract the eye. But that is our shame, not that of the marchers. Yet even the marchers, especially when they are Northerners—and “agitators” as some good citizens like to describe them—know that their forays, however dramatic, do not compare with the efforts of those Negroes with whom they join their efforts. “There is nothing we are doing here,” Harvey Cox told the wire services, “that is heroic. It is the children, old women and young people who are fantastically courageous. . . . They have been doing this all along.”

We could not help thinking of these words when, a few days later, we read the text of the Bishops' statement, “Bonds of Union,” written in Rome. By now the world and the nation are well aware that the Bishops have gone on record as opposing segregation and discrimination. Their stand has not made them any the more popular with segregationist Catholics; but that has not stopped them from speaking out. In “Bonds of Union” they have once again stated their moral conviction.

At least we think they tried. They reminded

Americans that “a major element of our heritage has been the translation of the rights of man, conferred by God, into civil rights, guaranteed by the state.” They spoke, too, of the “frequent use of expediency rather than principle in meeting our social problems,” and of the inescapable scandal of the fact that “we remain as a nation morally tortured by racial injustice in schools, jobs, housing, communal facilities, even in the most obvious areas of democratic suffrage.” How these things need saying.

BUT IS that enough? Or, put another way, is it enough to say, as the Bishops did, that “domestic tranquility requires not merely the order of justice but a cohesive spirit made organic by the life-giving virtues of equity and charity”? The answer to that last question depends, we suppose, on where one stands.

For those Catholics on the firing line, those who day in and day out work for racial justice, such a lofty reiteration of principle is not likely to provide very strong nourishment. For John Nelson, a New Orleans Catholic lawyer who has acted as counsel for demonstrators, the Bishops' statement was a “masterpiece of ambiguity.” That is strong language, but we find it hard to dispute this judgment. What can such a statement mean to Mr. Nelson and those other men and women who recently met in Washington for the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice?

How could they be anything but disappointed and distressed when they saw that the substance of the statement seemed to lay the blame for the Negroes' plight on the forces of “secularism” and “materialism”? To read the Bishops' pronouncement one would gather that, somehow, racial injustice is part and parcel of some kind of new trend in America—a trend expressed in Supreme Court prayer decisions, a loss of once-accepted spiritual and moral values. There is, to be sure, something attractively seductive about this reading of the racial crisis. It

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has the advantage of getting religion off the hook; as if to confirm this implied innocence, there is no mention of the fact that the Church for years accepted racial discrimination, that segregated Catholic facilities still exist.

Who are Catholics to talk about putting expediency before principle? How many Bishops were desegregating their schools in 1943? How many Catholic laymen would have accepted such a decision? Awkward questions.

The truth of the matter, we believe, is that the rise of secularism and materialism, if such there has been, has little to do with the current racial problem. There have been too many God-fearing segregationists and too many agnostic integrationists to make this explanation plausible. Indeed, we can think of nothing better suited to induce a sense of humility among the righteous and religious than meditation on the way religion and segregation have gone hand in hand in American history. The Negro has found a better friend in the American courts of the 1950s and 1960s than he did in the courts of the nineteenth century. And for all its "secularism" and "materialism" the Negro is finding more white friends in this generation than he did in those mythic days of "spiritual values" in the past.

We hate to say these things. We wish we didn't have to. But where else are we to turn? Where if not to our Bishops? We concede, indeed proclaim, their fine work. We respect their good intentions; we take seriously their words; we are convinced they know discrimination is morally wrong. But what will their statement mean to those Negroes who march in Williamston? What will it mean to those whites, priests and laymen, fighting for a civil rights bill? We wish we could give a confident answer.

Right to Work

WITH George Meany of the AFL-CIO characterizing automation as a curse and President Kennedy singling out economic security as the "Number 1" national issue, our continuing unemployment appears to be in for a new scrutiny. National productivity has attained a fairly respectable growth rate of four per cent, but the unemployed still total four million—five and a half per cent of the work force. Each year the million and a third entering the labor market join the hundreds of thousands displaced by automation to swell the ranks of job-seekers. That indicates the scope of the problem.

One approach is to tackle the genuine needs of our American society still unmet despite unused plant, abundant capital and idle workers. This would point in the direction of a large-scale public

works program requiring for the construction industry and related enterprises many additional workers. Politically this would be a most difficult program to put over.

Another would be to stimulate business by cutting personal and business income taxes. Economists differ as to the effectiveness of such a tax cut. But whatever the estimate, a business stimulus was needed months ago, and it is needed now. Nevertheless, the Senate Finance Committee insists that hearings on the Administration's tax cut bill go on and on; enactment cannot take place before next year at the earliest.

In an interview with the *Christian Science Monitor*, former Presidential adviser Arthur F. Burns suggests concentrating where unemployment is most acute: among Negroes and young people and in certain depressed areas. The latter calls to mind the big Appalachia project which Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., seeks to get under way early next year. How that will fare in Congress is problematic at best; rejection by our legislators of emergency aid for the desperately impoverished people of Eastern Kentucky over this coming winter is hardly a hopeful sign.

The current Federal Reserve Board report that employment has increased only in the service industries, from clerking in stores to teaching, tallies interestingly with some comment by Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz at the AFL-CIO convention. He foresees that soon machines will take the place in production of all non-high-school-graduates. George Meany complains that there are even machines to push the buttons in push-button operations. As automation grows, educational prerequisites for a production job will get progressively stiffer.

Obviously there is no single answer to the national unemployment problem—from the shorter work week to the remedies cited above. It will take a vigorous and well-coordinated combination of certain of these and other contributing devices. A major educational expansion could well be an element. Perhaps one day, under the pressure of qualifications for a job, a college education of sorts will be the norm.

Foreign Aid—What Happened?

NOTHING, perhaps, better illustrates the battering taken by the foreign aid bill than the fact that the President could be asked, as he was at his last press conference, to speculate on what he would do if Congress voted to kill the foreign aid program entirely. It has been, as President Kennedy put it,

"the worst attack on the foreign aid program since the beginning of the Marshall Plan."

Why all the trouble this year? A number of reporters have passed on the word that grass-roots opinion does not seem especially antagonistic to the program. And the Senate, where the bill took its worst drubbing, allegedly contains the highest proportion of liberal Senators in at least a generation. Yet the President's \$4.9 billion request has been cut down to \$3.7 billion—far less than the most ardent opponents had thought possible and further cuts will be necessary to placate the House.

In retrospect, it would seem that the appointing of a conservative-dominated body—the Clay Commission—to survey foreign aid was a disaster. Its report was a two-edged sword, unacceptable to conservatives because of its general approval of foreign aid, yet eventually wielded effectively to slash the program it was expected to bolster. Secondly, the lack of effective leadership in the Senate was felt as rarely before. Under Senator Mike Mansfield, crippling amendments—the type that Senator Johnson used to defeat with ease—were allowed to pass. The floor manager of the bill, Senator Fulbright, was no more effective, and in retrospect, his concession that there *were* things wrong with the program (but there is no time to correct them this year) was inopportune, though accurate. Like the Clay report, it only strengthened the hand of those who wanted to cut as much as possible.

Another factor was that President Kennedy did not fight publicly for the bill until after the damage was done. As William Shannon noted in these pages last week, the President's address on the subject before the Protestant Council of New York was excellent but belated. His very effectiveness in making his point in this speech has left many wondering what would have happened if he had taken his case to the people earlier over national TV.

A more general failing, perhaps, is that those who believe in a moral basis for foreign aid—those who feel that the rich have a responsibility to the poor regardless of direct national interest—have allowed too much emphasis to be placed on aid as a tactic in a strategy of anti-Communism. As a tactic, foreign aid is dependent on the strategy of the day. As a moral responsibility, it should continue as long as staggering economic inequalities continue.

Argentine Oil Seizure

THE ARGENTINE Government should not be too surprised if its seizure of the oil companies is universally regarded in the United States as preposter-

ous. It has become a commonplace among economists throughout the hemisphere to say that no amount of U. S. government aid, by itself, can cure the sickness of the Latin American economies, and that massive infusions of foreign capital are needed simply to keep abreast of the rapid growth in population, let alone to better the general economic condition. What the Latin governments face is a drastic shortage of domestic capital, plus the traditional unwillingness of Latin investors to pour their money into their own economies. Too many of these people transfer their capital abroad because they want "safe" investments that will not require them to desert leisure in favor of work.

If the traditional Latin American view of the U. S. capitalist is that of the ruthless exploiter, the U. S. investor's traditional view is that political instability, inflation, labor problems and the permanent danger of expropriation make Latin America a dubious prospect for investment. The first result of the Argentine oil seizure is to undo the patient efforts of the U. S. Government to quell these fears among potential U. S. investors. Since 1957, U. S. private investment in Latin America has declined by more than eighty per cent. Predictably, the Argentine decision will only serve to reinforce the decline.

The Argentine Government can still save face by offering compensation for the seized companies. The long court procedures toward that end have been undertaken by the management of the companies, but the Argentine regime has given various indications that no payments at all will be forthcoming.

The Kennedy Administration, at least outwardly, has reacted with prudent moderation. Though disturbed, it has carefully avoided any immediate statement or action that might reawaken the image of "dollar diplomacy" in Latin America. Yet the President is clearly in a bind. If he cuts back aid to Argentina, he further endangers the Alliance for Progress and risks a wave of anti-Americanism. If he does not cut the aid, further seizures of American-owned companies may follow—the oil companies in Peru are already in danger—and domestic political pressure might imperil the Alliance. The majority and minority leaders in the Senate have already called for a cutback in United States aid to Argentina.

If at all possible, the sanctions must be avoided. What the President must do—and appears to be doing—is to cast about for some middle way that will preserve the Alliance and soften the effects of a blow that may make some sense in terms of internal Argentine politics, but none at all in terms of Argentina's long-range interests.

Protestant Call to Action

THE LEAD editorial in *Christianity and Crisis* for October 28 on the school question has attracted relatively little notice. I think it deserves more attention and discussion. *Christianity and Crisis* has long enjoyed a reputation for imaginative and independent Protestant opinion, a fact which makes any editorial in its pages worth serious consideration. Furthermore, in this case the editorial carries even more weight than usual, since it is individually signed by the various members of the Editorial Board, headed by Drs. Reinhold Niebuhr and John C. Bennett.

Typically, *Christianity and Crisis* looks first to the facts in the Federal aid dispute, considering specifically the crisis in the urban schools. "In city after city across this land the schools are not meeting the needs of the people. They see their children pushed around, put on half-schedules in crowded buildings, bored with inadequate instruction. Teachers, often working heroically in difficult situations, know all too well the inadequacies of the schools where they struggle."

In the inner city this situation is particularly acute. There racial tensions, unemployment, the school drop-out rate, and slum living conditions combine to pose a challenge that would be difficult in the best of times. Given the conditions that now prevail in big cities all over the country, the battle of the schools is lost before it is even begun.

The sharp contrast in educational opportunity from region to region is a factor not mentioned by *Christianity and Crisis*, but it is, I think, another important argument for Federal aid. The South, for example, desperately needs better educational facilities—indeed, as Dr. Raymond W. Mack of Northwestern recently argued, a good case can be made that racial prejudice in the South will never end until the region's educational standing is improved. As Dr. Mack noted, no state in the South has more than one-fifth of its college-age population in college, all eleven states with an adult illiteracy rate of more than fifteen percent are in the South, and every state spending less than \$200 a pupil annually on education is Southern. Such educational limitations tend to produce an in-grown and narrow attitude, despite the fact that some Southern states spend a higher proportion of their incomes for education than do their sister states in the North. The problem, of course, is that the South is rural, non-industrialized and poor; its chances of lifting itself by its own educational bootstraps are slim.

The same thing is true of the big cities. In almost every state, rural-dominated legislatures refuse to give the cities a fair share of the tax dollar, and additional sources of local revenues have almost all been exhausted.

Yet to do their job adequately city schools must do the following: first, improve student-teacher ratios, enlist teachers with special training, find more space and better buildings, develop radically new programs; secondly, overcome the legacy of generations of racial injustice by desegregating schools and creating educational communities with enough harmony to function effectively in the midst of tense neighborhoods; thirdly, motivate children who see no chance to break out of the ghetto-trap where they live; lastly, teach students from homes where the English language is not used (there are, for example, approximately 600,000 Puerto Ricans in New York alone).

All of this means the schools need a tremendous amount of increased assistance. "Money alone will not do the job," *Christianity and Crisis* says, "but nothing else will work without it." If depressed city schools and backward regional systems are to be brought up to par, Federal aid seems the only answer. And yet, despite all this the need for Federal aid always founders on the religious issue.

Here *Christianity and Crisis* now sees certain signs of hope. Dismissing the customary responses of what they call "professional Protestants" as not very helpful, the editors cite instead recent arguments on behalf of aid to all American schools by Walter Lippmann, Robert M. Hutchins and the *New Republic*. These, the journal argues, "surely demonstrate that the movement to help pupils in private as well as public schools cannot be dismissed as a sectarian power play aimed at raiding the public treasury."

The logic of the G.I. Bill, with its system of free choice of schools, *might* be applicable to plans for Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, says *Christianity and Crisis*. There are, it notes, serious arguments against direct financial aid to parochial schools; we should also beware of tax help to private schools that would further weaken support for public schools. What the situation calls for, the editors say, is "experimentation, openness to new ideas, willingness to reason and discuss." Men of good will should engage in negotiations, and "in such negotiations we see no absolute incompatibility between some element of public support for private schools and democracy or Protestant faith."

Next to civil rights, education is our most pressing problem. In conclusion, therefore, *Christianity and Crisis* says: "Above all, we urge Protestants, Catholics, Jews and secularists to pay less attention to rigid traditions and vested interests and more attention to the needs of our children and youth." To that I can only add my own fervent Amen. JAMES O'GARA

Reading the Returns

*The real winner of the 1963 elections may, in the end,
turn out to have been Senator Barry Goldwater*

AS EVERYONE knows, it is very difficult to pick out clear national trends in any off-year election, particularly in the odd-numbered years. This year all we have to go on are two gubernatorial elections and a widely-scattered smattering of City Hall elections and referenda. What one usually finds in such a horse-and-rabbit stew is a group of discrete campaigns, wholly dominated by local political issues. This year's elections, however, deviated somewhat from this norm because of racial tensions and obvious political factors such as the nature of the Republican campaigns, which relate to G.O.P. hopes for 1964.

The racial issue played a significant part in each of this year's three major elections: Kentucky, Philadelphia and Mississippi. Of course, it totally dominates the politics of Mississippi; it has been *the* issue there for more than a century, distorting and brutalizing the state's development and giving to its politics that special paranoia found nowhere else, even in the Deep South. Here Rubel Phillips made the first significant general-election contest for the G.O.P. since 1881. He is an ardent segregationist, and is as determined to sustain the state's monolithic racial ideology as is the "Democrat" who won, Lieutenant-Governor Paul Johnson. The sole difference between them appears to have been Phillips' ardent support of Goldwater in 1964. It would seem that the race issue is so dominant in Mississippi politics that it canceled itself out, so far as the national picture is concerned. President Kennedy, the most cordially hated man in the state, was a certain loser who ever won this unique two-party contest.

In Kentucky the situation is quite different. Kentucky is a border state like its neighbors tinctured with Southern values and quite conservative in many respects, but without the history of acute racial tensions and white fears of the Negro which are encountered farther South. It refused to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, for example; but once the Amendment was adopted in 1870, no further efforts were made to hinder Negroes from voting. Hitherto race has never intruded itself to any significant extent into Kentucky politics. But there was

a dramatic change in 1963. Outgoing Governor Bert Combs (D), whose administration has been one of the most constructive and highly regarded in the state's history, recently issued a sweeping executive order outlawing racial discrimination in any business licensed by the state. This order includes virtually all retail establishments, such as hotels, taverns and shops, and it was an extraordinarily bold step for the Governor of a border state to take.

Naturally the executive order has encountered vigorous resistance from retail businessmen, and it was a ready-made campaign issue for the Republicans. Louis Nunn, Republican candidate for Governor and the manager of Senator Morton's successful campaign for re-election last year, chose to run primarily on this issue. While denying that he was a segregationist, he insisted that the order was unconstitutional and arbitrary; that it sacrificed private property rights to "the Negro vote"; and that it would be rescinded as the first order of business if he were elected to the Governorship. He paid Combs the dubious compliment of being the only Governor in the Union to have gone further on civil rights than Robert F. Kennedy, and in general conducted an anti-Kennedy campaign markedly similar in tone to that waged by James D. Martin (R) in his Alabama Senate bid last year. Associated with this campaign was the dissemination of the kind of hate literature used in defeating Frank Graham for the Senate in the 1950 North Carolina Democratic primary. It is unlikely that either Nunn or the Republican state organization sanctioned this scurrilous material, but their quasi-racist campaign certainly did nothing to deter its disseminators. The situation became sticky enough to force the Democratic nominee, "Ned" Breathitt, to concede that if elected he would suspend enforcement of the order until it was passed on by the state legislature.

The racial issue had still another dimension in Philadelphia. Here the basic problem has been the growth of the Negro population to about 30 percent of the city's total since World War II, and a corresponding array of typical big-city social problems—a heavy crime rate, the flight of middle-class whites to the suburbs, vastly increased welfare problems, racial ten-

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM, a frequent contributor to these pages, is now doing research on voting patterns at the University of Michigan.

sions reaching open violence in white neighborhoods where Negroes are seeking housing. The Republican candidate for Mayor, James McDermott, did not run on the avowed "white man's ticket" used by his party colleagues in Mississippi and Kentucky; indeed, he explicitly disavowed such an appeal in the closing days of the campaign. But there was an undercurrent throughout the campaign of Republican criticism of Mayor James Tate (D) for yielding too much to Negro demands, and among Negroes for yielding too little. Thus whipsawed, Tate was expected to make quite a poor showing for a Democrat in a solidly Democratic city—so much so that President Kennedy himself felt obliged to lend a hand.

IT SHOULD be strongly emphasized that in all these contests local issues played a substantial role, and necessarily blur any clarity the results might otherwise have. In Mississippi there was a strong movement among what liberal and labor elements exist there to throw their weight to the Republican candidate on the ground that the Barnett administration, with which Johnson is closely identified, has been the most anti-labor of any in the state's recent history. Paradoxically, Paul Johnson had emerged as a champion of the "little man" against the "vested interests" in the years immediately following World War II. It remains for detailed analysis of the official returns to show whether the conservative plantation counties of the fertile Delta continued to react to this image by supporting the Republican against the poor boy from the hills. If so—and, considering the history of the state's politics, it seems likely—a two-party system based on economic and regional antagonisms of great antiquity and persistence may be emerging in Mississippi.

The Kentucky picture is likewise clouded to a degree by the mists of Democratic factional politics. Breathitt surprised most observers earlier in the year by handily defeating A. B. ("Happy") Chandler in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. Chandler, a Senator Claghorn type who was elected Governor in 1935 and 1955, has been a fixture in Kentucky politics for decades and has a substantial personal following. He is a conservative who has cooperated with Republicans before, and he was vocally unhappy with the results of the primary this year. Since his great strength has been in the rural counties which registered Republican gains, one is inclined to wonder how much of this increase can be attributed to the G. O. P. campaign or to the race issue.

Against this must be balanced the fact that Breathitt is young and apparently attractive, and, moreover, enjoyed the unstinting support of the Combs Administration—an Administration hitherto considered to be widely popular in Kentucky. But this in turn must be considered in the context of a rather rapid growth of Republican strength in the state since the end of World

War II. Kentucky, like other border states, really has a three-party system: liberal Democrats, conservative or Bourbon Democrats and Republicans. Usually the two wings of the Democratic Party are united, more or less, and this has cast the state G. O. P. in the role of a quasi-permanent minority. But the nomination of strongly liberal Democrats has frequently led to Bourbon alliances with the Republicans in the past. Moreover, the gradual process of national political realignment, inducing Bourbon conversions to the G. O. P.'s standard, seems to be slowly tipping Kentucky into the Republican column. The easy re-elections of Republican Senators Cooper in 1960 and Morton in 1962 point in that direction, as does Nixon's easy victory in 1960. And yet, until November 1963, there had been no indication that this Republican trend had begun to spread to state offices: Combs' 60.6 percent of the vote in 1959 was the largest received by any Democrat in the twentieth century.

The local factors in Philadelphia are, if anything, even more tangled. Ever since the Republicans were ousted from City Hall in 1951, the Democratic leadership has been an uneasy coalition between patrician reformers, led by Mayors Clark and Dilworth, and the ward machines led by Congressman William Green (D). A secret of Democratic success lies precisely here: the reformers provided the necessary ingredient of moral leadership and constructive vision of broader social purposes; the machine politicians provided the indispensable means to achieve reform ends and local Democratic supremacy. Both working together produced the crushing 331,000-vote majority which Kennedy won in the city in 1960, and which permitted him to carry Pennsylvania. But Clark is now in the Senate, and Dilworth resigned in 1962 to make his unsuccessful bid for the governorship. The present mayor, James Tate, is a machine product—certainly not a presumptive fault, but a background which could be expected to reduce Democratic appeal to the city's electorate as a whole. Green is widely disliked even within Philadelphia, and the Republican campaign charge that Tate was Green's creature clearly made an impression. More-



over, recently uncovered scandals in the city administration have not added to the Democrats' luster.

What of the results? Even relying as we must upon unofficial and partly incomplete returns, the pattern is arresting. All the Democrats won, but by considerably less than normal margins. In Mississippi the Republican candidate polled just under 40 percent of the vote, revealing extraordinary strength for a party which has made no contests in over eighty years. In Kentucky the Republican lost by a very narrow margin, winning more than 49 percent of the vote and turning in the third best G. O. P. performance in the eleven gubernatorial elections of the past forty years. In Philadelphia Mayor Tate did somewhat better than expected, winning a majority of slightly under 70,000 votes. But his Republican challenger, doing very well indeed, polled over 45 percent of the vote—the best Republican showing since 1947.

There seem to be more than local forces at work here, important as such forces were. The Mississippi vote apparently demonstrates once again, as did the 1962 elections in Alabama and South Carolina, that the effectiveness of traditional Democratic appeals for solidarity as a weapon of social control is collapsing. No doubt this process will not be permitted to develop without a fight by the state's entrenched politicians. Ross Barnett has denounced the "diabolical" Republican effort to contest elections and thus permit the Negro to hold the balance of political power, and Paul Johnson—obviously irritated at being forced to campaign in a general election—has hinted darkly that he will try to get legislative action to make such contests impossible in the future. This has been done before, as the South-wide *coups d'état* against the two-party system which were carried out between 1890 and 1904 attest. In Mississippi it may well be done again. But as the South comes fully to realize that the very reason for Democratic solidarity—local control over race relations—is irrevocably gone, there will almost surely be an irresistible pull toward carrying on the contest on the national level. This, coupled with the industrial and urban elements which are finally integrating the region into the Union, seems almost certain to lead to a relatively rapid spread of two-party conflict throughout the South. Such a development would undoubtedly be sharply accelerated if Senator Goldwater should win the Republican nomination next year, and his backers can hardly be displeased at their Mississippi showing.

The other contests seem somewhat more germane to national political possibilities involving the race issue, and here the results are predictably mixed. Local factors could be considered as going far to explain the results both in Philadelphia and in Kentucky—far, but not quite far enough. It seems clear that the racial issue was of considerable importance, but that it was far from being the focus of a popular upheaval. The

Kennedy Administration will surely not feel obliged to give up the ship in the aftermath of the 1963 elections; the Democrats did win, after all. But the antagonisms which seem to lurk behind the face of the returns cannot be especially consoling to a President who had such a close call in 1960.

Probably most concern should be felt by Administration circles over the result in Kentucky. Even taking local factional tensions into account, the Democratic candidate ran for an office which Democrats almost always have won handily in recent decades; he was young and presumably appealing; he had the support of a strong party organization and the incumbent administration. But he almost lost, and in an extraordinarily heavy outpouring of votes. It might be hazarded as a very rough guess that the racial issue influenced at least 50,000 voters either to switch parties or to vote for the first time, and against Democratic racial policies. This is a large number of votes in a state the size of Kentucky; it is possibly the raw material for a critical realignment which would leave the state with a permanent Republican majority. If Kentucky reflects upper-South and border-state sentiment; if the religious issue retains anything like the importance it enjoyed here in 1960, and to it is now added racial politics, Democratic prospects in this broad middle belt of the American continent will not be good.

SO FAR as the Philadelphia story is concerned, it is always hazardous to attempt to predict the results of one type of election from the results of another. Republicans, after all, won repeated victories in city elections during the 1930's and 1940's while during the same era F. D. R. was winning the city by pluralities of 150,000 and more. Even so, the Democrats will have to mend quite a few fences within the next year. It may be doubted whether President Kennedy can duplicate his awesome performance of 1960 in Philadelphia. But he needed 68 percent of the city's vote to win 51 percent of Pennsylvania's. If he cannot duplicate this urban showing in 1964, how can he carry the Keystone State?

These results must leave the President and his party chieftains somewhat uneasy. But the real winner of the 1963 elections seems to have been Senator Goldwater, and the real losers his more liberal opponents within the G. O. P. For the past year or so, Republican candidates have been trying out a new kind of campaign. They have been arguing that the Kennedys have been proceeding in a high-handed, arbitrary fashion, paying scant heed to the traditional American values of local autonomy and property rights. Most of these Republicans have not run on an openly racist platform. Instead, a more subtle tactical maneuver has been employed: states' rights and economic conservatism have been highlighted, and certain broad hints have been thrown to the voters as to the relation of these concepts

to the racial issue. The implication is clear enough: narrowing or privatizing the scope of conflict over the status of the Negro presupposes maintaining the status quo and arresting any further Negro advances, especially in the area of "social rights" involving public accommodations, housing, jobs and so on. This is not exactly racism as usually understood in American politics. Rather it tells the people at large something that scholars have known for a long time—that there is a strong causal link between socio-economic conservatism and the racial status quo—and it permits them to draw their own conclusions and vote accordingly.

Conservatives of a more enlightened or more timid cast of mind may rightly feel a sense of disquiet at the risks involved in opening up this issue in this way. But these tactics, which seem to leave candidates and

party leaders with a clear conscience, were obviously successful in making deep inroads into Democratic strength—especially outside the metropolitan circuit—both in 1962 and in 1963. Since nothing succeeds in politics like success, and since Barry Goldwater's supporters espouse just this kind of Republicanism, the 1963 results must be encouraging to him and to them. By the same token the Republican liberals who are making what may be their last stand around Rockefeller's standard can scarcely find comfort in those results. To repeat, 1963 has given us very little solid material to analyze. But it seems fair to say that this year's elections have done their small bit; they have nudged the political system one step closer toward the critical realignment which seems certain to burst upon us if Goldwater wins the Republican nomination next year.

MICHAEL NOVAK

Nuns in the World

It is their very self-conception which is at stake

"MUCH HAS BEEN written about priest-laity relationships," Cardinal Suenens said recently, "but not enough has been done to integrate into this discussion the proper place of the nun." The Catholic directory for 1963 shows that there are over 175,000 nuns in the United States; that is, more than three times the number of priests, surely the greatest spiritual force in our nation. Of these, 102,000 sisters teach, affecting directly most of the six million students in American Catholic schools. Yet amid all the healthy self-examination among American Catholics these last ten years, very seldom have laymen had a chance to reflect on their relationship to the sisters, and the sisters' to them.

Ignazio Silone once wrote that with one hundred young men who would live chastely and poorly and dedicate themselves to the poor, he could remake Italy. American Catholic culture, however, remains quite timid, uncreative, legalistic, even though not one hundred but scores of thousands of young men and young women give their substance, their youth, their lives to evangelical vows. Why is there such a gap between the good will of these novices and the general effect of their lives? It is possible to read the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, close one's eyes, and find it diffi-

cult to apply the descriptions of the primitive Christians to American religious, even though these religious show great good will. The observer does not often get a sense of freedom, creativity, social consciousness, joy, from the religious he meets. He gets rather (it must be confessed) the sense of organization, tiredness, professionalism, the piety of brochures and building-fund campaigns.

Undoubtedly, the nuns do work for which American Catholics cannot be grateful enough. Yet it is difficult for a layman to feel joy on seeing a young woman enter the convent, even when he is in favor of her decision. He is more apt to feel admiration, anxiety, hope. He cannot be sure that she is entering a life of new spiritual freedom, where she will find help and encouragement in discovering the depths of the human spirit. He hopes she will find courage to be faithful under the great strains of convent life in our generation: the heavy schedules, the technical preoccupations, the conflicts between older and newer ideals, the pouring of twentieth-century tasks and pace into the institutional forms of a more leisurely day. The layman cannot help feeling that the sisterhoods add unnecessary strain to the contemporary living of the Gospels. When many of the present sisterhoods were founded, the day's work ended with sundown, the electric light was not in use, and it was no doubt relaxing to sit in a circle at evening rec-

MICHAEL NOVAK, currently in Rome for the Vatican Council, is a regular contributor of articles and reviews to these pages and author of the novel, *The Tiber Was Silver*.

reaction, quietly stitching, and attempting "edifying discourse." It must be difficult for the sister of today to find peace in a convent caught between two conflicting social orders.

Thus the fear voiced by the layman is very different from the opposition encountered by Teresa of Avila when she wished to enter the convent. It is not that the young girls entering the sisterhoods are "leaving the world" and entering on a life too evangelical, too ideal. It is rather that they may be kept from the Gospels by institutional forms and attitudes that are in the throes and confusion of change. The girl who enters the convent in our generation is in for an adventurous, trying life, whose future she may help shape, but whose conflicts will certainly render her own peace uneven.

ON SUCH MATTERS, it is difficult for the layman to make clear his relationship with the sisters. For too many years there has been a breakdown in candor in American Catholic life. The clergy fear to say things that might scandalize the laity; the religious who administer colleges are often very secretive vis-à-vis their lay faculty; laymen scarcely ever say to religious what they most deeply think and feel. There is a conspiracy of gentility, politeness, and adulation, which inhibits honest sentiment and direct speech; and these conventions carry over from the speakers' platform and the Catholic press to private conversations. A layman finds only a few priests or religious to whom he would confide the same convictions, doubts, criticisms he confides quite readily to many laymen. This conspiracy against candor is apparent to the impulsive and the naturally frank within the Catholic environment; and those who live outside that environment sense the air of quaintness, constraint, and less-than-truth as, on occasion, they are called back into it.

But with American sisters it is, in general, particularly hard to be honest. The layman cannot help admiring the heroism of their lives; moreover, the better he knows them, the more he recognizes how desperately they try to be worthy brides of Christ. But the sisters seem so sheltered from secular life as it is now lived, that one does not know by which standard to judge them, theirs or one's own. Still again, they spend so much of their lives in the company of children, or at most among girls of college age, that the layman soon finds himself speaking gently and in circumlocutions. Perhaps in spite of himself, the layman cannot help wanting to shelter nuns from the full facts, or from the full force of his own convictions, objections, or feelings. Isn't it always unfair, by the nineteenth-century code, to argue with a lady? And surely, to enter conversation with most nuns is to accept the conventions of that code, however unusual among other women of our century.

The layman can't help feeling that the sister, once

formed by novitiate and juniorate into the convent code, and then kept isolated by her rule from free mingling with the men and women of our society, slowly adopts as the normal way of viewing the world the imperatives and the delicatenesses she has been taught to observe. Her mentors may think of these as particularly civilizing, as leaven in a harsher and more vulgar world, as a genteel tradition worth preserving. But if this is the choice that nuns in America make, they should realize that it deprives them of the chance for leadership; it robs them of positive spiritual force, with its multiplier-effect among their students; it makes them, not apostles, but guardians; it takes them out of the mainstream and the center of the fray and—to use the harsh, honest word—it makes their work defensive and ephemeral. Men and women in the secular world cannot live by the conventions of a bygone day; many leave much of their Catholic training at the school door.

The layman, of course, realizes that a great number of American sisters have already seen the dilemmas of the modern nun. Some sisters in every community, and certain sisterhoods from among others, are far advanced in creating a new style of sanctity, work, and life for nuns—a style peculiarly American and peculiarly of our century. Moreover, the Sister Formation Movement has given such sisters a national focus of stimulation and energy. With a national office in Washington, an ambitious program of publications, conferences, and lectures, the SFM also publishes a *Bulletin* which for several years was a pacesetter in translating into English the creative new theology of the religious life which has been stirring in Europe. Thus in several respects, the movement toward *aggiornamento* was already farther along among American nuns than among American brothers or priests even before the Second Vatican Council began.

IN AN INVALUABLE book, however, of which nuns in this country are already making wide use, Cardinal Suenens (*The Nun in the World*, Newman paperback, \$1.95) notes that sisters are still treated by canon law and ecclesiastical traditions as minors, looked on as in need of protection, not as mature persons of equal stature with men. Many individual nuns, of course, have earned respect from clergy and laity as mature, competent equals; but nuns in general have not yet won equality. The great contribution made by Cardinal Suenens is to have put the present situation of the nuns in historical, spiritual, and sociological context; he has been frank and has at last given official voice to the conflicts and difficulties many sisters have suffered. He has emphasized that sisters need not conceive of themselves as defenders of the faith or preservers of a gentle tradition, but as apostles who can belong to and help shape the secular world. He has emphasized that the natural role for sisters is among the women of the

twentieth century, and has urged the sisters to enter the adult, secular world.

Such encouragement is sorely needed. The ordinary layman in America, educated or uneducated, does not look on the sisters as leaders of great relevance to our secular life. He entrusts his children to the sisters with affection and gratitude, and knows that the work the sisters do in the schools (not to mention in the hospitals and homes) is without price. At the same time, he is not likely to take the sisters critically or seriously. Adult laymen rarely converse with sisters, question them, challenge them, argue with them. Even the poorly educated layman takes it as his prerogative to smile on some of the sisters' regulations, their attitudes, some of the things they say. No doubt the children in school occasionally give evidence of these attitudes from the home.

There are two important respects in which the layman tends to think the life of the sister is remote from his. I have already stressed the first one, the all-embracing attitude of obedience and gentility shaped by a life entirely under the authority of superiors, regulations, and the convent code. This attitude is not inspiring to the layman. Nor does it seem like the attitude of the primitive Christians; it seems, rather, the result of several post-Tridentine cultural forces, which have given the Gospels an unnecessary twist.

The second question is that of womanhood and sex. American sisters sometimes convey an ethereal impression: of women trying hard to live as though they were "spiritual creatures," as though they didn't need affection and were "above" sex. One might think of American nuns as ladies, hardly as women. They do not seem to be of earth, and the general impression they give is perhaps rather Jansenist than Christian; their chastity seems negative and unreal, rather than passionate and alive. The strictures that nuns sometimes impose on girls who wear the normal touch of lipstick becoming to their age, or the conventional shorts and necklines of our country and time, do not seem Christian or wise. Correspondingly, the fears and uncertainties concerning sex felt by many of the girls who graduate from Catholic schools are scarcely due to Christian modesty alone, which need have no fear; they seem due to the sexual uncertainties of their teachers (and parents).

ON THESE TWO matters, as well as on many others, a recent book by two trained Jesuit psychologists, John J. Evoy and Van F. Christoph, *Personality Development in the Religious Life* (Sheed & Ward, \$3.95), joins the book by Cardinal Suenens in making the era of the Vatican Council a turning point in publications for American nuns. On the matter of obedience, surely the area of greatest abuse among American sisters, this book makes an invaluable contribution. It details the psychological risks inherent in the superior-subject re-

lationship; it discusses the aberrations that can lurk in rigidity, docility, self-sacrifice—wherever self-knowledge and intelligence are excluded. It speaks a great deal of affection and appreciation.

Cardinal Léger of Montreal has also added a long, pointed pastoral: *La Religieuse Enseignante Aujourd'hui*. The emphasis here, as in the other books, is on secularization, in the positive sense of that word: becoming more apostolic, becoming more human. Historically, this shift in emphasis marks a return to the biblical, liturgical, apostolic spirituality of the early ages of the Church, as distinct from the self-centered and defensive spirituality of a later tradition.

This shift is crucial, because under that later tradition it was very difficult for the sensitive and inquiring nun to understand herself as a human being, or to share the naturalness of the Gospels and of the great religious humanists like Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross. The spiritual reading conventional in American convents and seminaries since their post-Tridentine origins—reading which gave Thérèse of Lisieux headaches—has been much affected by the individualism and militarism of the Counter Reformation. It often stresses the pharisaic virtues of observance, self-perfection, unquestioning obedience, even as it warns against their dangers; and this stress coupled with the counterwarnings against it often produces disquiet and anxiety. The more devoted a "soul" is (rather than a "person"), the more impossible perfection seems and the more imperative it seems never to relax, not even for a moment—for it is just then that corruption strikes. Nuns of today carry staggering work loads; many sisters face thirty-five hours of teaching a week, plus a turn at cooking supper at home, plus prayers and housecleaning, and after-school and weekend catechetical assignments. Sister is not allowed to stop for a nap, or to take recreation except at specified times, in specified ways. She rarely has a chance to be alone. To further harry her inner life with the meticulous concepts of Counter-Reformation spirituality is to add a cruel torture, and take her peace.

Cardinal Suenens has underlined the concept of enclosure as the key point in rethinking the role of the sisters in the future. It is a mistake, he thinks, to model the sisterhoods on monastic forms. Sisters belong to the



secular world, and the secular world to them; it is among men that they will find their Love. The real thrust in the work of the great founders of religious communities in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries was that of beginning the long path back to the authentic tradition of the early Church, the path that leads from Trent to the Second Vatican Council and beyond. They were the ones who achieved the first partial insights into the needs of the new Church of the industrial, democratic, pluralistic state. It would be a mistake to be faithful to the moment of history in which they reached their insight, instead of to the further development of that insight in history.

THUS, Cardinal Suenens argues, the greatest need of the present is to humanize Christianity, a need more urgent than that of Christianizing secular humanism. The Church is in the world, redemption is for men; there is no natural world, no "corrupt" world; the world is already redeemed. Catholicism must begin to live these humanizing (or divinizing) truths again; it is especially important that this life be begun in America. In many respects, American Catholicism is becoming the center of the Church universal, and what happens here is of the utmost importance for the shape of the future world culture.

If the sisters of America, therefore, were to opt for Cardinal Suenens' conception of their vocation, the impetus they would give to the humanization of Catholicism in the world would be immeasurable. No one in America is in the position to give the symbolic, sweeping impetus which the 175,000 sisters could give. Every step the nuns take in the present *aggiornamento* has a dramatic effect on the ordinary layman; the nuns are a very visible part of the Church. Changes in their regulations, habits, attitudes, methods, affect many millions. But the truly fundamental question is: How much effect do nuns wish to have on the secular world?

The sisters could multiply their effectiveness, for example, by rethinking their commitment to the parochial schools. About half our Catholic children are in public schools; do they need the sisters less than others? Cadres of sisters could be trained in contemporary liturgical and social catechetics to teach all Catholic children, in public as in parochial schools. The sisters in the parochial schools could concentrate on theology and social action, leaving algebra and geography and history to the laymen. Above all, the sisters should stress social action; this is the unsurpassed way to teach the Gospels. Weren't most of our sisters' communities founded among the poor, for the oppressed? In America, these same communities have often become institutionalized, proper, and safe. The nuns are not thought of as poor, but middle class.

Without question, racial violence is rising toward the eruption point in our northern cities, precisely in the

very population centers where convents are most concentrated: Boston, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit. There is no group in America better fitted to play the part of intercession, justice, peace, and love, in the Negro neighborhoods than the sisters from these convents. The effect on the large Catholic populations in these cities of sisters who take the part of the Negro, who protest with him, who march with him, who help his wife and children in their many emotional and economic needs, would be overpowering. As it is, the nuns seem politely remote from the cries for justice; there is a discrepancy between their grasp of reality and that of many of their foundresses.

The entrance of the sisters into the world, which Cardinal Suenens urges, will not take place until the sisters cease to be afraid: going out two by two, locking doors, treating the convent as an enclosure out of the storm. The noise and anguish of city streets has got to enter convent windows, if the sisters are to help the sons of men. But even within the existing institutions, the local parish and parochial school, the nuns could do much more mingling with the adult world. The Parents' Days at school are at present innocuous, dishonest affairs, at which neither sisters, pastor, nor parents truly speak their minds to one another. Laymen should be allowed to speak frankly about the policies and goals of the school, and sisters should be able to challenge in return.

Moreover, it is surely a mistake for sisters to limit their labors in the parish only to the children. Why are not some sisters, at least, prepared to lead discussion groups on Scripture, liturgy, social action among adults? Such sisters would need to be prepared to argue and discuss, in the manner of the secular world. More effectively than anyone else, they could bring the encyclicals of the recent popes into ordinary parish life where they are not now attended. Such a program might mean that the sisters would have to leave the convent in the evenings, and take part in meetings in the homes of parishioners. If the young girls of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine can do such work, why can't sisters? Only changeable traditions stand in the way.

FINALLY, groups of the most intelligent and sensitive nuns, who are already intolerably restless in grammar and high schools, could be trained for a new kind of work on secular campuses, where five-eighths of Catholic undergraduates are in attendance. Even a half-dozen sisters—theologians, poets, historians, painters—would give a great cultural lift to Catholic women on campus. The sisters could lecture, counsel, guide reading programs, help with research papers, direct social action, encourage ecumenical encounters, provide a haven for retreat and recollection. Groups of students from Harvard and Radcliffe, for example, drive over a hundred miles regularly, to come under the marvelous

influence of the nuns of Regina Laudis convent in Connecticut.

Each of these suggestions, of course, can be weighed only by the sisters themselves, according to what they wish to do with their lives. But there is no questioning how profound a reconsideration is called for; it is not this or that detail, it is the very self-conception of the sisters which is at stake. No doubt those nuns who already have contact with secular education have a new perspective on their lives. It is apparently a salutary shock to move from a climate where sisters are unquestioned queens to one in which the Catholic ghetto is only a small part of the world. The important point is for increasingly more nuns to see themselves as they are seen.

The impact of argument, advice, criticism, discussion,

from contact with lay adults, and also with non-Catholics and non-believers, will have deep repercussions on the sister's understanding of her own vocation, and on her sense of belonging to all men. The vocation problem will be relieved; girls will at least no longer feel they are leaving for a strange world, but for adult tasks that will extend and enrich their willing spirits. Moreover, the benefits that would redound on laymen, and ultimately on American culture as a whole, would be surpassingly great. Every nun who enters the stream of American life, who enters on the side of justice and liberty, will draw in her wake the dozens of laymen she teaches or influences and the hundreds who see her. The Gospels will then, at last, begin to permeate, with their sense of purpose and poverty and joy, the apathy of so much of American middle-class life.

THOMAS R. BROOKS

Mutiny on the Great Lakes

Repercussions are being felt on both sides of the border

THE Canadian Government has placed under trusteeship all five of the country's maritime unions, including the largest and most obstreperous, the Canadian division of the Seafarers' International Union, AFL-CIO. Strongly condemned by U.S. labor leaders and government officials, the move has been widely acclaimed in Canada as a first step towards the ousting of Harold C. Banks, head of SIU's Canadian branch and a dominant figure on U.S.-Canadian waterways. Banks, who along with his Seafarers has been expelled from the Canadian Labor Congress, though not from the AFL-CIO, was recently condemned in a Royal Commission report as "the stuff of the Capones and the Hoffas." The report recommended his removal from office and all positions of influence in the labor movement.

However contrary to widespread expectations in Canada and the U.S., the trustees—Victor Leonard Dryer, a Justice of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, René Lippé, Montreal magistrate, and Charles H. Millard, a retired Canadian steel union official—did not immediately move against Banks. Instead, as practical men with long experience in labor affairs and in recognition of the SIU's obvious power, the trustees met with representatives of the five unions, one by one.

THOMAS R. BROOKS, formerly assistant labor editor of *Business Week*, is a free-lance writer and a frequent contributor to these pages.

Banks, trustee chairman Justice Dryer reported, "promised to cooperate and we believe he will. We also believe from our conversation with him that this cooperation will bear fruit *very* shortly."

The immediate fruit of Bank's cooperation was the calling off of a walkout of some fifteen hundred seamen that tied up over a hundred ships in protest against the government-imposed trusteeship. The future crop, of course, depends on Bank's continued cooperation. But the barrel-chested, six-foot-two SIU leader must have heaved a sigh of relief when Justice Dryer pointedly stated that the Royal Commission recommendations "are not binding" on the trustees. Moreover, added Justice Dryer, union officers' fitness to hold office would be judged "mainly on what they do from now on."

However, the Canadian government has not been similarly restrained. Banks has been arraigned on a charge of conspiring to commit assault in the beating of an organizer in the Canadian Merchant Service Guild six years ago. Seafarers in United States ports picketed a few Canadian ships in protest against the trusteeship, but the pickets were withdrawn after a few days.

The past is likely to haunt the trustees, however, as they seek to resolve a no-holds-barred dispute between the Seafarers and the Canadian Labor Congress-sponsored Canadian Maritime Union. This dispute has not

only disrupted shipping on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway but has threatened Canadian-U.S. relations. To understand the dispute, we must go back to the days when the Communists controlled the union of seamen shipping on U.S.-Canada waters.

This control gave the Communists a ready pool of muscle for extending their influence in Great Lakes ports and along the St. Lawrence River. At the request of Canadian anti-Communist unions, the Government and shippers, the Seafarers were invited to Canada to rid the waterfront of Communist control. The job called for a tough man with brains as well as muscle.

The parties who did the picking found their man in Hal Banks. Born in Iowa 54 years ago, he joined the Navy at 17, then after his hitch sailed as a merchantman on tankers working out of California ports. In 1930 he was sentenced to San Quentin for a term of up to fourteen years for issuing a bad check. He served three-and-a-half years and was later pardoned by Governor Earl Warren as a rehabilitated citizen. He also has been acquitted over the years of various charges ranging from murder to carrying dangerous weapons.

Battling Communists and employers in the late 1930s, Banks organized seamen aboard West Coast oil tankers. He rose to become an assistant to Harry Lundeborg, president of the Seafarers' International Union of North America. The burly Iowan was a natural for a waterfront war; he arrived in Montreal in March, 1949.

THE SIU supplanted the Communist-lead Canadian seamen's union after a two-year waterfront brawl that raged around the world from Halifax to Vancouver. When it was over, Banks was the single most powerful man on the Canadian waterfront.

Under Banks' leadership, the SIU raised wages for Canadian seamen to just under the U.S. wage scale, the highest in the world. A restless man at the head of a restless union, Banks then began to tie up what he considered a number of loose hawsers around the Northern waterways. However, at the other end of these were several powerful Canadian unions, among them the all-Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CBRT) and the Canadian branch of the United Steelworkers. As a result, Banks and the Seafarers were expelled from the Canadian Labor Congress in 1960 on charges of raiding affiliated unions.



In 1961 the CLC chartered the Canadian Maritime Union headed by a handful of disaffected SIU officials, and the CBRT, which had managed to woo away one or two grain-ship crews from the SIU, turned these over to the CMU to give it membership. The two ships involved were owned by the Upper Lakes Shipping Company, a Canadian-managed but largely (about two-thirds) American-owned grain-shipping concern. In 1962 the Upper Lakes-SIU contract expired and the company signed an agreement with the CMU. There was no attempt to win over the seamen; they were simply told to go CMU or else. Most—some 300 seamen—remained loyal to the SIU. Crews, however, were recruited and Upper Lakes Shipping Company vessels began to ply the Great Lakes grain routes.

Not for long, however. Banks' SIU countered with a boycott; longshoremen refused to cross picket lines, resulting in an almost complete tie-up of Upper Lakes ships and sporadic violence occurred. The CMU appealed for help from other Canadian unions. The CBRT responded with a boycott of its own; its members working the locks of the St. Lawrence Seaway were not to handle SIU-manned vessels.

When a SIU-manned ship finally jammed the Seaway locks, effectively blockading a major portion of Canadian shipping, the Government, then under the Premiership of John Diefenbaker, intervened. The CBRT and SIU boycott actions were enjoined by the courts. However, the SIU boycott of Upper Lakes Shipping Company tonnage remained effective in U.S. ports. Therefore the CBRT and other Canadian unions requested the Canadian government to make representations to the U.S. government. The dispute began to move on very high levels indeed, ultimately involving the Canadian Prime Minister and the President of the United States.

ON BOTH SIDES of the border investigations were held, the most important being that of Royal Commissioner T. G. Norris, a British Columbia judge who conducted an inquiry into the "disruption of shipping," the life and loves of Hal Banks and the affairs of the SIU. In sum, Commissioner Norris found "Banks' history in Canada has, from the early beginnings, been a history of union strife marked by acts of violence." The jurist also found Banks "a bully, dishonest, greedy, power-hungry, contemptuous of the law." He recommended Banks' ouster from union affairs and an extensive government trusteeship.

U.S. Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz then hurried off to Canada in a vain effort to set up an alternative, voluntary trusteeship. Neither side, however, could agree on a formula for the choice of a third person on a proposed committee on which Canadian and U.S. labor would each have a member.

The Canadian Parliament, angered at "U.S. inter-

ference," adopted the Norris suggestion for a government trusteeship. (A \$10,000 fine and ten years' imprisonment are the penalties for obstructing or hindering the work of the trustees.) The Seafarers marched on Ottawa to protest and Prime Minister Lester Pearson put the trusteeship into operation.

The waterways imbroglio touched a sensitive nerve in Canada. As a top-flight Canadian editor writes: "I don't know who thinks they have more control over *our* domestic decisions these days, management who own U.S. subsidiaries abroad or international trade unions who have affiliates abroad." Banks is a focal point for this kind of resentment. And the Canadian Labor Congress clearly hoped to capitalize on this to rid Canadian labor of Banks and to supplant the SIU with the CMU.

The Canadian nationalists may try to go further and seek to sever all ties with the U.S. labor movement. This may prove to be difficult; among other reasons, unions with affiliates in Canada still put more money in than they take out. A separation that would end this particular balance of payments would be painful to some. Then, too, there is the largely overlooked loyalty of *Canadian* seamen to the SIU, a kind of loyalty that may be paralleled in other unions. (Perhaps not; waterfront workers *are* different.)

For its part, Banks' SIU does have ninety-five percent of Canadian shipping under contract. To break this hold, the Canadian government would need to engage in large-scale union busting. No doubt the government, through its trustees, could do the job—in Canada. But what would happen in U.S. ports is a worrisome ques-

tion sure to give pause to thoughtful Canadian officials. For the sake of an overriding U.S.-Canada amity, the U.S. government might be willing to sit on the Seafarers. But you can't sail a ship with an injunction, as is demonstrated by the tie-up of an Upper Lakes Shipping Company grain freighter, blockaded in Chicago.

Confronted by this potential impasse, the Pearson government has begun to separate the problem of Banks from the problem of the SIU-CMU dispute over Upper Lakes Shipping. The trustees it seems, are to handle the latter possibly by containment; once cornered, the dispute which involves such a small percentage of Canadian shipping may be susceptible to mediation, or some other such solution.

As for Banks, the Government is pressing criminal charges which, it is hoped, will put his future in the hands of the courts. Banks, already charged with conspiracy to commit assault on a rival unionist in 1957, is under investigation on charges that he conspired to persuade seamen to walk off ships to march on Ottawa contrary to the criminal codes and the Canada Shipping Act. If Banks is found guilty, the Government apparently believes that the SIU would be unable—it certainly would be in a weak position—to retaliate. It is one thing to boycott and strike against an attempt to run a union by government fiat and another to go against an adverse trial decision of one's peers. If Banks is acquitted, the Pearson government is free to say to its opponents, we've done the best we can.

Whether or not the Pearson maneuver succeeds remains to be seen. Its outcome may yet provide a severe test of U.S.-Canada friendships.

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

Reformation Sunday in Rome

A Protestant Viewpoint

AS I WAS riding into Rome from the Fiumicino Airport, I fell into conversation with two English priests who were coming to do further study at the English College. One of them told me to keep watching up ahead because at a certain point I would get a clear view of the dome of St. Peter's, after which it would be lost to sight for several more miles. "There was the beginning of the whole trouble," he mused, recalling that one of the con-

tributing factors to the Protestant Reformation was the indignation of the Germans at the way their own church funds were being siphoned down to Italy to pay for the erection of St. Peter's.

With this in mind we continued to watch for the dome. The miles ticked off, but no dome appeared. "Perhaps," the other priest finally suggested, "they've torn it down as an ecumenical gesture."

A turn in the road shortly thereafter reassured us that the dome was still there, and that ecumenical gestures in the present era are being dedicated to creative rather

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN, Professor of Religion at Stanford University, contributes a regular column to these pages. He is an official observer at the second session of the Council.

than destructive impulses, and that upbuilding rather than demolition is to be the basic concern of what goes on under that dome in Vatican Council II.

It is true, of course, of every movement for reform, that some things must be torn down in order that other things can be built up, and I am sure this will be true of Roman Catholicism in the twentieth century, just as it was true of European Christendom in the sixteenth century. And when I spent Reformation Sunday in Rome (the Sunday closest to the anniversary of Luther's nailing the Ninety-Five Theses to the chapel door at Wittenberg on All Saints' Eve) it seemed to me that without trying to make Protestants out of Catholics it is fair to assert that the spirit of reform must increasingly become the spirit of the Council.

That the very word "reform" can be used here so frequently is in itself significant. "Reformation" has had such unfortunate psychological and historical connotations for Roman Catholics that until quite recently they have shied away from using the word at all. It was a "Protestant" notion, and therefore A Bad Thing; for the Catholic Church, which exists without spot or wrinkle, to acknowledge the need for reformation in her own life would have been a grave disservice to the truth and a cause of scandal to the faithful. I hastily acknowledge that there are some here who still adopt this view, and look with grave alarm on speeches and tendencies that imply that not everything in the past is *per se* good and to be conserved without change. I am even learning from whom to expect such speeches. But the future, I am persuaded, is not with them, and I am so persuaded because I believe in the Holy Ghost and believe that He is stirring the Roman air and introducing fresh currents. I wish sometimes He would stir the air a little more vigorously, and I find that on this point I can make common cause with many bishops. But even though some in the Council will resist the Spirit, and do so with considerable adroitness, they will find Him in the end to be more nimble than they.

Lest the main burden of these remarks seem too euphoric, let me make perfectly clear that I believe the Reformation still has a long way to go. As I write this, for example, the Council fathers even on the procedural level are, to use a euphemism, bogged down. They are apparently beginning a struggle to find ways to expedite



their business so that the air may be cleared of vain repetitions and time-consuming oratory. Hopefully, by the time this appears in print some progress will have been registered on this level. Better procedures, of course, do not guarantee better speeches or better results, but after weeks of meetings, most people here are firmly wedded to the notion that better procedures might help. The appearance of simultaneous translation will also be a godsend not only in speeding council procedures but in improving the comprehension of Council fathers whose Latin isn't what it once was. This may even mean that the coffee bar won't be so crowded.

NO ONE can yet tell, of course, to what degree some of the vigorous and truly reforming speeches on the Council floor will make their way into the new draft of the *schema* on the church that must be prepared after the current discussion has been completed. No one can yet tell (save those perhaps under the "Conciliar secret" for commission meetings) to what degree the forward-looking voices *in* the Council will finally represent the forward-looking voice *of* the Council. The assumption that because ideas are in the air they will surely get into the documents is an assumption that had better not be made too prematurely.

Even so, and being as "realistic" as possible, I would find it very hard to believe that the Spirit will abandon this Council. (If on a few occasions I have been tempted to that heresy, I find that such moments pass, usually when the voice of the Spirit is heard through a Suenens or a König or a Bea or a Philbin or a McGrath.) There will surely not be as much reform and renewal as one could desire, whether one assesses what is "desirable" from a Protestant or a Catholic standpoint, but there will be an impetus given to fresh beginnings. The thing that is essential to remember about the spirit of reform is that it does not come to an end; there is no time when reformation has been completed.

Ecclesia semper reformanda means that the church is always to be reformed, always to be in process of undergoing a re-forming of her true self. And this is the only valid concept of reformation, a fact that Catholic theologians are now pointing to with as much vigor as Protestants. This means that the Council itself will not produce the new Catholicism of the future, which after all is simply the old Catholicism purged, refined and purified. The Council will only create the atmosphere and the teachings that will give the new Catholicism a chance to emerge. It can do this, of course, only as a spirit of genuine reformation characterizes it.

To be more specific, then, what things at the Council indicate the possibility of reform, not as though the Catholic Church were to begin to look "more Protestant," but as though she were to become more truly Catholic, more faithful to the fullness of the gospel God has bequeathed to Christians to share with all mankind?

The first thing to be cited must surely be a series of decisive actions taken by the Pope before the Council actually got underway. The now-famous speech about the reform of the Curia was an indication that the new Pope intends to act vigorously. The Curia, he said, needs to be brought up to date and it needs to be internationalized. When one reflects that there is probably only one group of Catholics on earth who would not welcome this news—namely, the Curia itself—it is noteworthy that the speech was addressed precisely to that group.

WHILE it is not yet clear how fast such reform will proceed, a symbol of the new direction is the appointment of Cardinal Bea to the Holy Office. Cardinal Bea is a Biblical scholar, an ecumenical leader, and a German, and these are three graces that can scarcely be said to have dominated the Holy Office in the past. The appointment of Cardinals Suenens, Döpfner, Lercaro and Agagianian to act as moderators of the Council was another important step by the Pope, for these men, pre-eminently the first three, represent forward-looking movements within the church. In all candor it must be reported that up to the time of present writing, lines of authority within the Council have not been clarified, and the moderators have not yet had the impact upon the Council that they hopefully will have in the future. A further instance of papal leadership is found in the strength of the papal allocution which opened the Council, and upon which I commented in the previous installment of this column.

A second reason for hope that “reform” has become a concept increasingly congenial to the Council mentality is the tenor of many speeches in the *aula* itself. There is always the danger (to which, perhaps, a Protestant observer is peculiarly prone) of hearing what one wants to hear. But I am impressed, even while trying to keep my reactions sober and tempered, by the degree to which bishop after bishop engages, for the church, in continuous soul-searching. Some of the most impressive instances of this have come from the missionary bishops. They decry, in ringing terms, the church’s identification with the rich, with the upper classes, with the external trappings of wealth and pomp and power. They call for the church to humble herself, and to identify herself not with the affluent but with the needy, to become a servant even as her Lord was a servant.

Others insist that the role of the laity will not have been sufficiently established simply by urging the layman to be on hand to help the priest with “church work.” Rather, the apostolate of the laity must be an apostolate to the world, concerned to rebuild the structures of society, particularly of a society that has been cruel to so many of its members. From Ireland and Washington and Panama and France and India and South America and, let it also be said, on occasion from

Spain, have come statements of a concept of the laity that hold great hope for a radical re-thinking of the relation of the church to the modern world, and the place of the laity in that re-thinking. On the other side of the picture, it is clear that more must be said about the laity than is contained within the present schema, and many newspapers have referred to the wishes of the Catholic lay “auditors” for greater advance at this point. Fortunately the auditors can get a hearing in the smaller commission meetings, even if not (yet) on the floor of the Council.

A third area where possibilities of reform exist is in the theological understanding of the church. It is a well-known fact that Vatican I defined the teaching authority of the church in almost exclusively papalist terms. It is a less well-known but not less important fact that subsequently the Roman Catholic Church has recognized that the definition of Vatican I is incomplete. It is not wrong, the Catholic would say, since it is infallible, but it is incomplete. The *full* truth was not expressed by Vatican I. And the major theological issue with which Vatican II is wrestling is whether or not it can state the truth in a more ample way—a way that will complete what Vatican I began but did not, for a variety of reasons, finish. That is to say, can a way be found to define the authority of the other bishops along with the authority of the bishop of Rome in such a way that the latter’s power is not diminished but is no longer unilateral? This is, if I may say so, quite an assignment, and the way Vatican I hangs over the discussions at Vatican II is at least challenging, if not oppressive.

MANY CATHOLICS will not want to speak of such doctrinal problems as matters of “reform,” but rather as attempts at development or completion. But to the Protestant, at least, the new concern with collegiality of bishops is an example of reform. For it is attempting precisely to replace a less than fully adequate view with a more adequate one. This does not mean that the result is going to be congenial to Protestant theology. But it does mean—and this is the important point—that such moves create greater rather than less possibilities for the ecumenical dialogue to continue at new depth.

One further example of reform within the church is the gradual approval, chapter by chapter, of the schema on the liturgy. It may be possible that this schema can be fully approved during the present session. At all events, though it may not go as far as some liturgical experts would wish, it too opens doors of a sort that could not have been contemplated a decade ago. Further extension of the vernacular in the mass and other sacraments, occasions for concelebration, situations in which the faithful can receive under both species, new attention to Scripture and sermon, reforms of the breviary—these things may not seem spectacular on the surface, but they hold promise of great things to come. And

when such reforms actually become a formal possibility within a given diocese, we will have a chance to see how far-reaching the reforms of the Council really are, and whether or not the bishops will be as forward-looking individually at home as they have been collectively at Rome.

It must be the spirit of reform never to rest content. Whether or not the Council is truly a Council of reform may not be known for many years, perhaps even for generations. That the Church will never be the same again, simply because the Council has met, is already clear. But whether the spirit of reform will be translated into actual and specific reforms, remains to be seen. Tangibly, all there is to point to so far is the progress on the liturgy schema. Consequently, many questions still remain open: Will the fathers find a way to break through procedural impasses that threaten to stifle the Council's voice? Will laymen be given a significant role in the church of the future? Will laymen, for that matter, be permitted to speak on the floor of the Council as those who actually know most of all about the role of the layman? Will the Council be able to acknowledge that God works through Protestant "churches" and not just through baptized individuals who happen to be non-Catholics? Will a strong statement on religious liberty emerge and be adopted by an overwhelming majority? Will the place of Mary be treated in such a way that ecumenical dialogue is fostered rather than frustrated? Will the Council be able to get beyond glittering generalities when it finally gets to the famous "Schema Seventeen," on the church in the modern world? Can the Council openly and honestly acknowledge the degree to which sin exists within the Church as well as outside the Church? The questions are endless. Therefore the hopes, and the apprehensions, remain endless.

Whatever leads to reform or renewal is ecumenically significant, since reform and renewal are significant not in and of themselves but because they are paths toward greater fidelity to the Christian Gospel. Their purpose is not so much to exalt the church as to make the church a more fit vehicle through which to exalt the Gospel. I saw this symbolically portrayed one week at St. Peter's. During one of the Latin speeches my eyes (and perhaps my attention) wandered from our observer's tribune to one of the gigantic statues in the transept wall across from us. It is a statue of a saint holding a large crucifix. In one of those little tricks of light that last only a few moments, a beam of sunlight came in from the opposite window and was focused on the crucifix, illumining the figure of Christ so brilliantly that the saint could hardly be seen in the relative darkness.

This is a parable of the Council, of the Reformation, and of all impetus to reform and renewal today: so to illumine Christ, that it is He, and not ourselves, that the world sees, so that seeing Him, not us, the world may believe.

THE STAGE

Minor Comforts

LIKE ANY organism, off-Broadway is at its best when it understands and accepts its own nature and destiny. Its true fate is both modest and extreme: to be a home for experiment and risk; to provide the opportunity for partial victories; to hold out a mode of theater in which spectacle, cold expertise, the elegant elaboration of the familiar and the exploitation of the *a priori* face and the saliva-starting name are supplanted by the honest use of original materials and the creation of new minor legends in the face of the old inflated ones. But off-Broadway has increasingly been evading its own possibilities in favor of trying to become the dwarfish counterpart of the established theater of commercial values and big lugubrious gestures. There is no trend away from this, but herewith some notes on a few recent and current developments that have made rifts in the fog.

"The Immoralist," Ruth and Augustus Goetz's adaptation of the novel by Andre Gide, is by no means an important drama, but it is one of the few successful conversions of fiction to theater, it does well what it sets out to do, and it deserves a better production than it received on Broadway a few seasons back. In a tiny theater on the Bowery it is now getting a better production—an immeasurably better one—by George Keathley, whose direction does not seek obvious dramatic effects, who has not had his actors play the work for its sensational implications or even its domestic color, and who has arranged for its performance a discreet, somewhat artificial and archaic style which in its narrow purity and detachment perfectly suits the play's tone and weight.

Gide's novel was, of course, an autobiographical document which was of primary significance to his entire psychic and intellectual development. In it he confronted the fact of his homosexuality, accepted it and came to a precarious understanding with the woman he had married out of friendship and loneliness. Whatever the doubt, shame and sense of his own cruelty he was later to feel—in his directly autobiographical writings his awareness of his selfishness frequently breaks through and calls forth the massive counterforce of his lifelong defense of himself in the name of art—the book is a delicate, understated, circumscribed act of imagination which carries itself with quiet force and inevitability.

The Goetz have been largely faithful to Gide's intention, and Mr. Keathley has been loyal to them. There are occasions when a flamboyant act, an overly naturalistic movement, a step into melodrama are mighty temptations for the performers, but Keathley will not permit it. The result is a peculiarly moving, subdued little drama which its cast, headed by Frank Langella

and Marcie Hubert as the husband and wife, perform with accuracy, grace and that rarest of all theatrical virtues—restraint. (*At the Bouwerie Lane*)

THIS column has not reported on the Broadway musical season for the simple reason that there has not yet been one. “Jenny,” “Here’s Love” and “110 in the Shade” have been described as musical comedies, but then Elsa Maxwell’s *Memoirs* and *A Treasury of Cigarette Holders* have been described as books. But off-Broadway does have a musical of considerable charm, vigor and reality, these qualities accruing to it because of its modesty, uncoerced animation and playful, self-regulating wit. It is called “The Streets of New York,” and it is based on Dion Boucicault’s melodrama about love, rascality and the triumph of virtue in post-Civil War America. Barry Alan Grael, who wrote the book and lyrics, and Richard B. Chodosh, who composed the music, have produced a work that knows what it can and cannot do and does what it can with exemplary élan and unpretentious vivacity. (*At the Maidman*)

ONE OF the most remarkable performances of recent seasons was Philip Bruns’ portrayal of an ape which becomes a man in Sheppard Kerman’s play “Mr. Simian.” The work was nearly intolerable without Mr. Bruns, a deadly, furiously aspiring metaphysical mélange which purported to be new and exploratory but which was actually predictable to the extremity of boredom. But Mr. Bruns—well, to say that he simulated an ape is to give an entirely wrong idea; he *was* an ape, from his dangling arms and curling fingers, to his extraordinarily soft movements and liquid passages through the air, to his grunts and screams and later heartbreaking discovery of the possibilities of speech. His performance was not a mere tour de force but a brilliant appropriation of new reality, which broke through categories and limitations of being to exhibit what the theater should always exhibit: the nature of being itself, the alchemical process, the ruse, the singular art of becoming what one is not in order to show existence its own infinitude of possible faces. (*Closed at the Astor Place*)

RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

Though This Be Madness

SINCE humor is such an individual thing, and one man’s joke may be another man’s pain-in-the-neck, I find it hard to tell how audiences will react to Stanley Kramer’s “It’s a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World,” which was designed to be the movie “comedy to end all comedies.” For me, it was the “end,” so this will have to

be a personal review. I never saw so many slapstick scenes, pratfalls, stars roughing up other stars, and cars roughing up other cars in a movie before. This is partly due to the fact that “Mad World” is the longest film of its kind ever made (190 minutes, plus a welcome intermission) and partly to Kramer’s notion that if one wild chase is funny, two must be twice as funny. There must be a law of diminishing returns here. By the second hour the picture was distinctly beginning to diminish for me.

“Mad World” (mad as it is, I can’t do all those mads each time) probably has the largest collection of comedians ever gathered for one film. But the whole thing got started on the wrong foot for me when the greatest of greats, Jimmy Durante, is killed off in the first reel. His car careens down a winding mountain road, turns over, throws Jimmy out. Before he kicks the bucket (literally—and this is a joke, son) he tells the occupants of other cars who came to his rescue about the \$350,000 he buried in a park. The rest of the film follows the mad scramble of these money-lusting people by car, truck, plane, bicycle, foot, across California’s deserts and mountains to be the first to locate and grab Jimmy’s buried stolen loot.

The arrangement of the mad, mad racers keeps changing during the long, long chase; but it consists principally of: Milton Berle with his wife (Dorothy Provine) and loud-mouthed, bossy mother-in-law (Ethel Merman); Mickey Rooney and his buddy (Buddy Hackett); Sid Caesar and his wife (Edie Adams); and Jonathan Winters as a tough, soft-hearted truck driver who foolishly tells Phil Silvers why they are all scurrying to Santa Rosa, causing mean, greedy Phil to join the chase. Actually all the leading characters are pretty mean and greedy, and resort to all types of violence to get there first. As bad as the others is the young beachcomber played by Dick Shawn as Ethel Merman’s mom-loving son who joins the pursuit for loot, as does Terry-Thomas, who manages to squeeze in some hilarious burlesque on the American idea of a typical Britisher. In the meantime, back at the police station, police captain Spencer Tracy and his staff are keeping an eye on these loot hunters, and Tracy’s eye has as greedy a glint as the searching eyes of the mad racers.

It is hard to believe that William Rose, who wrote that delightful English “Genevieve,” also wrote this haphazard screenplay. Some of “Mad World” is very funny: an early scene in which the hunters argue endlessly on how they will split up the loot if they find it together, the scene in which Sid Caesar and Edie Adams are trapped in a basement and have to dynamite their way out, the episode with Rooney and Hackett trying to land a plane by following instructions from Paul Ford, and the ridiculous slapstick in which angry Jonathan Winters knocks down a garage and filling station. But too much of the comedy is repetitious, unneces-

sarily violent, and even vicious. Merman's raucous harridan act, funny first, becomes monotonous and so does much of the rough-and-tumble as it piles up. One longs for a little gentle humor and at least a few slightly lovable characters.

It must be said in favor of "Mad World," however, that its technical tricks and crew of stunt men are outstanding. I got tired of wrecked cars, chases and prat-falls, but I had to admire their execution. The color photography of California and the hard-working cast is also admirable; and the film, shot in the new Cinerama technique without the jiggling dividing lines, is fine. It doesn't have, unfortunately, the depth or the sensation of being projected into the picture of the old Cinerama. Maybe this is more than we could have stood during these wacky chases and demolition scenes. No doubt, "Mad World" will have its enthusiastic admirers, especially among youngsters not familiar with the faster, zanier, and shorter Mack Sennett comedies. For me, "Mad World" tries too hard too long. It has just too many mads.

MOVIEGOERS preferring more conventional comedy may find "The Wheeler Dealers" to their liking. It is a giddy satire on smooth operators who always seem to be successful at talking anyone into anything and always manage to raise money. James Garner gets away with this lead role in fine shape, although some of his machinations aren't very exciting; and his three buddies who tag along to reap some of his harvest are downright tiresome. However, when Garner gets to New York to raise a million bucks and tries to help saleswomen Lee Remick, he and his maneuvers provide a lot of fun. Garner has become an outstanding comedian; and he and the pretty Miss Remick complement each other well. "The Wheeler Dealers" isn't a world-beater in the comedy line, but its satire on Texans, big business, and the buying and selling of modern art and stocks and bonds is funny enough to win laughs and make you think you're having an even better time than you really are.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

The Kite

The kite that rattles in the tree, atop
The tallest branch, begs the winds of spring
For wings; and though the March wind blows
And clouds scud across the roof of space
The kite must know its flight has ended here
In these wooden claws—two stapled sticks,
Mast and spar for a crippled sail shivering
In these inland gusts, anchored far
Below the rolling sky, exposed forever
To the sun's cold eye, the scissors wind.

LARRY RUBIN

CORRESPONDENCE

"The Freedom of Priests"

Boise, Idaho

TO THE EDITORS: After reading Daniel Callahan's article "The Freedom of Priests" [October 18], I wish to cancel my subscription. It was already my intention not to renew my subscription, but that article points up my objection to your apparent policy, and I thought it would be a kind of duty to tell you why. I could just ignore the matter, but that didn't seem fair, either.

The reason I subscribed to your magazine in the first place was that I was very much in favor of a magazine edited by able Catholic laymen, and I still am. But I do not think your magazine represents the thinking of any laymen I know, and with all due apologies to Mr. Callahan, I know a lot of them. Actually, I do not think the average priest even refers to them as "laymen," unless there is some possibility of confusion. They are just "people" or "friends" or "parishioners." In the Council they are discussing this matter more positively, and they say the problem is a lack of definition for laymen. True, it is not enough to say that a layman is one who is "not a cleric," but that certainly points out the only difference between the two. It works both ways: a priest is a layman who wanted very much to say Mass and hold Christ in his hands. Before I entered the seminary at the age of twenty-four I was a layman, and I do not feel any different now, except that I get tired sooner.

Surely, Mr. Callahan cannot believe all that—what shall I say?—"stuff" (there's a good non-metaphysical word!) he said about seminaries! I showed my pastor what he had there about assistants, and I would tell you what he said, but it would never get a *nil obstat*. However, I do not think it matters much what Mr. Callahan thinks of seminaries, because his is quite obviously not an expert opinion. On the other hand, I do think it matters that Mr. Callahan, or anyone else who has the burden of responsibility for putting things in print, should treat so important a matter with such uninformed abandon. It would be pointless to argue the matter of priests' education, because even the National Educational Association, which seems dedicated to anti-Catholic crusades, usually recognizes the college degree of priests, and so-called statistics say that 50 percent of all college applicants fail to finish.

But that is not the issue. The worrisome thing is that your paper is habitually critical, and that doesn't seem constructive. Mr. Callahan is only one man; surely there must be somebody somewhere sometime that writes with love about the Church. The view from which one sees the whole makes a lot of difference in the analysis of a particular aspect of that whole. Let me approach this problem positively, if I may. And this is only my

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own point of view; I do not claim it is the considered opinion of all priests, everywhere.

The laymen that I know love priests. They have a very possessive attitude about "their" priest, and that is because they know they can demand his services, and he will come to them. There is a positive definition of priests, and it goes all the way back to St. Paul: he is ordained for men in the things pertaining to God. People sometimes criticize their priests, as familiars, and they do so without losing their love because they know their priest belongs to them.

It is precisely because they love him so much that they expect him to "know everything." Even professional men—and I say this with the experience of fifteen years as a priest—do expect the priest to be informed in their subject, if not professionally qualified. The only ones who do not grant that pre-eminence to the priest are the accrediting associations, who require that he have sixteen hours of education courses before he can teach religion in high school. If that is the world of the layman, that is the one we are trying to convert. I know that actually no priest does know everything, and perhaps I know only the "masses" and not the "elite" (a most vulgar distinction!), but the people ask advice from priests on everything from how to raise children to how to pick a wife (!!!) to how to fix a ticket.

But of course the people are wrong, and they seldom take advice anyway. They merely want to talk to somebody about a problem, and they go to the one who consoled them when they were sorrowful, who anointed their dead, who forgave their sins, and who is the closest thing they see to God on the altar. I don't suppose they really think the priest *can* solve their problem, but he will make it bearable.

And this is the hardest part about being a priest; one feels inadequate. There is so much to do, and so many people who could do it better. But then we have to remind ourselves that we are tools; we are the ones that God has decided to use as his hands and ears and mouth—and He will make up for our deficiencies. We are never holy enough; we could never be so holy as the people think we are because they look at us through "rose-colored glasses" and even if they see something wrong (as occasionally they must if their eyes are open at all) they forget it quickly. That is a hard image to live up to, and it would be impossible if the people were not so indulgent.

This "tension" that you say is building up between the clergy (a word I never hear the people use) and the laity (a word *we* never use) must exist in some vacuum outside a parish. When I stop in at some parishioner's home, I will think of "tension" as I see the glow in their faces that I have "honored" them by my visit. So quit worrying about priests' education; pray for them that they will not be unworthy of their calling.

(Rev.) PHILIP CANAVAN

San Luis Rey, Calif.

TO THE EDITORS: Daniel Callahan's analysis of the liberty-authority problem in our seminaries echoes most of the pros and cons that have long been aired in clerical circles. Vatican II, of course, has brought the laity visibly and forcefully into the discussion—a healthy development. Undoubtedly you have received a number of responses to the article. I hope that most of them have been respectful.

This response is from the "opposite camp." I am a priest, God help me, and a seminary professor; and, to boot, a prefect of discipline. This last title, incidentally, has recently given way in most U.S. seminaries to "dean of students."(!) Mr. Callahan's stand is, for the most part, easily defensible. It is too bad he had to be so brief. There is so much that must be clarified in this very complex problem that a popular article of three pages can barely hit the highlights. But even with such space limitations it is difficult to see why the heart of the problem merited only one sentence.

Mr. Callahan's third paragraph begins with the very obvious point that the seminary regimen is to some extent aimed at the weeding out of "those seminarians who would not have the stamina, self-discipline or seriousness of purpose necessary for the priesthood." Is the laity aware of the impact of this apparent truism? To "weed out" is a major process of seminary administration, dreadful though the implications of such a procedure may sound. It is the key reason for seminary discipline; it is the most time-consuming work of rectors, prefects, and counselors.

Judging candidates for the priesthood is about the most awesome and responsible duty that can be given any man. One of the most workable means the Church can devise for such a duty is to establish sanctions and restrictions on the candidates so that their fallible judges can have norms by which to measure them.

Every Catholic takes pride in the record of his Church's ministers. He demands and expects a lifetime commitment of service from his clergy. Defections would be the chief scourge of the Church's mission. We can never take for granted the admirable fact that this evil is so minimal. The stability and loyalty of her priests is one of the many signs of the Church's unity and holiness. Nothing would be more detrimental to her image and her effectiveness than a steady stream of apostasies.

Are there better ways of insuring clerical stability than a relatively strict seminary program? Without this no other feature of our training could be fruitful. Divine aid would be most helpful when we are called on to vote for candidates, but the grace we receive for such a task is of the same kind that all men receive in every act they perform: it is built on natural means, in this case our human judgment and the external signs of each candidate's fitness and sincerity.

Mr. Callahan's observations about over-strictness and

a tendency on the part of some seminaries to limit freedom excessively are well made. There must be moderation, obviously, and an abundance of prudence and human understanding. A too demanding and inhibiting program would result in just the opposite effects: young priests released from their "prisons" would misuse their new freedom and be in serious danger of renouncing everything. But we know that this is not the rule. True enough, a large proportion of American priests must take some time to adjust to the environment of the layman's world when first "released." But the record of their ability to do this is one we can all be thankful for.

Was it fair of Mr. Callahan to compare our program to those at West Point and Annapolis? Yes. (He forgot the Air Force Academy, which takes a new kind of pride in its rugged testing methods!) We too can be demanding in many areas of training. But our regulations are prompted by a far different motivation from the military schools. We try to inculcate self-discipline built on supernatural motives which point to self-knowledge. The reason of course is that no priest worth the name can be effective unless he has first worked long and hard at humility and loving submission to Christ. God help the laity if we ever turn out priests with the kind of pride and arrogant independence shown by the West Point shavetails that I suffered under as an army recruit in 1942.

Agreed, liberal arts courses leading to the bachelor's degree should be standard in all seminaries. Today's priests must be more than just scholastic philosophers and theologians. Be assured that such a program has long since been in operation here, and that almost all American seminaries are working overtime to bring their standards and their curricula into accord with the national college accrediting agencies.

Mr. Callahan might be surprised to learn that the number of U.S. seminaries which have ignored the importance of self-examination in this area is very small. He might be glad to learn that this college, for one, [San Luis Rey College] has taught all the liberal arts for years, with trained personnel in every branch—including a priest-psychologist who makes full use of all the latest counseling and testing methods—and is fully accredited to the Western Association of Schools and Colleges. Hegel, Darwin, Freud, and Sartre are not just names to our students, any more than are Picasso, F. Scott Fitzgerald, or Samuel Beckett. And we are no grand exception. Seminaries across the country can make the same claim.

True, there is much yet to be done. (We read Fathers Congar, Küng, and Fichter too!) The students deserve as much freedom as possible, plus the opportunities which Mr. Callahan mentions of sharing their knowledge and their zeal by means of dialogue with the "outside world." But as we continue to work toward this, exploring all the ways and means suggested by him and

so many others, we are obliged at the same time to bear in mind a terribly important fact which Mr. Callahan does not mention at all. He should not be blamed for this, perhaps; I have never seen it alluded to directly in any examination of this freedom-regimentation problem. Like so many laymen, Mr. Callahan may be unaware of it. I mean the unhappy fact that seminaries contain *so few seminarians*.

Does Mr. Callahan know that nine out of ten young men who begin the study for the priesthood in this country do not persevere? National figures show that the drop-out rate in all U.S. seminaries is nothing short of drastic. We are teaching and counseling, for the most part, young men who only *think* they want to be priests. Our time and efforts are taken up chiefly with those who will eventually drop out.

The greater part of Mr. Callahan's proposals could be acceded to immediately if our seminaries were stocked with *future* priests instead of *would-be* priests. Much more freedom, a much broader program of dialogue and preliminary apostolic work could be incorporated into our training program if we could be sure of the stability and prudence of the majority of our candidates. But this is not the case. The kind of young man matriculating at our American seminaries today is woefully immature. He is worldly, often selfish, seldom committed in the real sense to or sufficiently aware of the demands of the celibate, priestly life. Only one in ten proves fit over the long stretch; which one in each instance it is our job to uncover.

No seminary can operate effectively—along the lines and ideals suggested by Mr. Callahan—when its student body is so full of question marks, when the general morale is constantly threatened in subtle ways by students who are chafing at the bit. Discipline becomes the all-important means of "weeding out." Hindrances to freedom must play a vital part in our screening process if we are to separate the men from the boys.

It might be suggested that the reason for the high drop-out rate is this very discipline. This would be hard to demonstrate. It has been my experience that the bulk of those who leave do not give the seminary restrictions as their reason for withdrawing. They admit that it was the gauge by which they were better able to come to their decision. But almost all of them are grateful for the chance they had to experience for the first time a life of regularity and seclusion and hard work. They leave for every reason but the one which at first glance would seem most obvious to the layman. They fear the celibate life and the demands that it entails. They are unable to cope with the academic requirements. They were hasty in their decision to enter, and now realize that "the world" is too strong an attraction to be missed. They are lazy, or too soft, or too selfish; they are lacking in "the stamina, self-discipline or seriousness of purpose" to which Mr. Callahan refers.

This is not just my opinion. In the past seven years I have discussed this drop-out problem with seminary rectors and prefects from every part of the country. I have been active in meetings and conferences in which this problem and most of Mr. Callahan's observations and suggestions were studied from every angle. At the annual Seminary Conference in Washington this past May, seventy-six representatives from U.S. and Canadian seminaries dealt with this matter in detail. It is our chief concern today.

All of which makes it apparent to us in this important work that very little that is revolutionary will be realized until the problem of vocations is examined at the roots. The brunt of it, we feel, goes back to the layman—to the mothers and fathers of our seminarians. You would be surprised at the number of today's parents who refuse to encourage the idea of the priesthood for their sons. And the number who have been guilty of spoiling their sons, of giving them too much too soon, is appalling.

Much has been made in recent years in the U.S. press of teen-age discontent and maladjustment. Our seminarians are the older brothers of these kids, just one step away from their taste for gaudy clothes and flashy cars, from the going-steady craze, from tawdry music, movies, and magazines. If there is anything they need it is training in silence and temporary seclusion, in self-discipline and a taste for intellectual activity. These things come hard to our American youth.

A more "liberal" seminary program can only be effective when seminarians are prepared for it—when their vocations have been tried by separation from home and

family, by weekly conferences with their confessors and spiritual directors, by the unromantic chore of skull-cracking in chemistry, the Latin authors, epistemology, hermeneutics, and the rest. And this takes time. Today's candidate for the priesthood is too often unsure of his vocation even up to the time for his reception of the subdiaconate. The pull of the world in our secular society has become far stronger than many realize. And the layman too frequently forgets that seminarians are not boys from outer space.

Today's world needs good priests. Mr. Callahan has every right to demand them. It is our job to prepare them. But the job of supplying them will always rest with the Catholic parents whose example and encouragement cannot be overstressed. And the kind of discipline future priests must be subjected to depends in great part on the background they bring with them to the seminary.

Father Fichter is right: there is a "lag" between ecclesiastics and the laity. Most seminary staffs work constantly to bridge it by every possible means. But the layman will understand the reasons for this lag, and will be more patient as it is corrected, if he is made aware of the complexities of the mystery of a priestly vocation in the modern world. Vocations are becoming proportionately fewer with each passing generation. They can grow only in the environment of the layman's world, in Catholic homes where love and generosity and sacrifice must prevail. We clergy hope that The Commonweal will continue for many years to publish food for thought which can nurture this environment.

(Rev.) BENEDICT MCCORMICK, O.F.M.

BOOKS

Replacing the Myth of the Free Price-Market System

Challenge To Affluence. By Gunnar Myrdal. Pantheon. \$3.95.

The Managed Economy. By Michael D. Reagan. Oxford. \$6.

Free Men And Free Markets. By Robert Theobald. Clarkson N. Potter. \$5.

by Edward T. Chase

THE QUESTION before the house is the ancient one: What political-economic system best mobilizes and allocates human energies and distributes their social produce in a fashion designed to assure society of its continued existence? In the United States the view has prevailed that the free market (the "natural" flow of supply and demand), whose engine is the profit motive mod-

ulated by the price mechanism, makes for the best of all possible worlds. In this scheme of things the consumer is supposed to be sovereign and accordingly the public will is judged to be articulated better than it ever could be in a more planned political-economic order. Furthermore, the wonder of it is that it is a self-regulating order; it has an automatic character obviating the need for any but the most minimum government involvement.

The plain fact that today the free price-market system exists substantially as a myth—a thousand legal, political, technological and social factors have transformed the actual workings of the market so that only Rotary Club speakers today accept

the theory at face value—has been of little importance, up to now.

This is not to say that there haven't been incessant, formidable assaults on the theory from various quarters. The ideological controversy under the rubric of socialism vs. capitalism has been the preoccupation of generations of intellectuals. But at least since the last war the rhetoric of that particular debate has been seen to be so dated, so often irrelevant to the pulsating realities of change, as to render the exercise a kind of charade. Up to now.

Quite suddenly, however, there has emerged a new order of economic-political discourse, in a way a non-ideological discourse, that is reviving the debate in a new lan-

guage. It is triggered by mounting evidence that this acting out of the free-market myth is getting us into serious difficulties, principally three: (1) unbalanced allocation, whereby social needs are neglected while private consumption in our \$600-billion Gross National Product economy becomes overweening; (2) sluggish economic performance, as registered in a slower than desired growth rate; and (3) worsening unemployment, especially long-term unemployment. The part of the myth that is most damaging is the notion that the economy is self-regulating, is automatic in fact, and that such maladies are merely temporary by-products of the market cycle. It follows that most all that's required in the way of intervention may be some modest fiscal, tax and monetary manipulations.

These three related but dissimilar books, none of which wants to do away with the market system entirely, in quite as matter-of-fact a spirit as you could wish, contend that in truth our disorders are primarily structural rather than cyclical. For a variety of good reasons profound reforms are in order necessitating a degree of central direction and planning. The degree they advocate is presently beyond political feasibility, I'm afraid. But I offer that strictly as an aside. The ideas of all three men merit varying but close attention regardless.

Mr. Theobald's *Free Men And Free Markets*, despite its plain and sometimes lame style, is a book passionately felt, and the passion is generous, clearly for greater social justice. So monumental is Mr. Theobald's exasperation with the palpable old nonsense that economics should continue to confine itself to solving the problem of allocating *scarce* resources when in fact technology can create abundance that he does nothing less than concoct an entirely new order bound to be condemned by the orthodox as more nonsensical than the old. He proposes to liberate men (from totally unnecessary poverty; from functionlessness) in this new order of abundance, by guaranteeing them an income from the government, a sort of super social security available to all.

Not only will this take care of demand—sustained and even purchasing power is assured—but it will strongly complement the market system. (Theobald's theory presumes the essentiality of the market if we are to preserve freedom.) Profit-seeking corporations will pay active workers considerably more than this basic floor of social security. They can afford to since purchasing power is built into the system and since technology is now capable of prodigious productivity.

Theobald concedes that a small fraction of the population will remain parasitical and live on their guaranteed social security-type incomes. But the overwhelming majority will want to do better, within the conventional profit-making market system, a market system now preserved from cyclically diminishing demand. Those individuals desirous of work but work of a kind (craft and cultural artifacts, for example) that normally commands small monetary return will work in organizations he calls "consentives," selling their produce in the market but living on their quite generous social security—unless they begin to make a profit over a given amount, when they would cease to be paid their government guaranteed income and would be on their own, in traditional fashion, in the market. None of this is elaborated at enough length in the book to render the scheme altogether clear, which the author concedes.

It is easy and already fashionable among economists to dismiss Theobald as an odd-ball. But such dismissal is superficial: Theobald's neologistic essay despite its bizarre terminology and apparent daring really does not depart very far from a structure already foreshadowed in present legislation and institutions. And the bulk of his book in which he presents a somewhat overdrawn, at times Sunday-supplementish picture of the new world of cybernated abundance, is a pretty fair analysis of accelerating trends. The worst one can say of Mr. Theobald is that he would win "the least likely to succeed as a politician" title hands down. His misfortune is that so few of his peers, let alone the public, will take him seriously.

We may be able to survive the ignoring of Theobald for a while, but look out if we ignore the central message of Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist who gave us *An American Dilemma*. Myrdal's is a trenchant argument for a radically different manpower policy, for his deepest concern is America's worsening long-term structural unemployment. This is not an easy situation to explain in a few words but Myrdal does it as well as anyone could, it seems to me. The essential points are that: (1) even admitting the need for more rapid economic growth, such growth won't suffice to lick our 6 percent plus unemployment because increased *general* demand won't absorb the growing number of our unemployables—the lesser endowed (by virtue of education, training, age) who have become dysfunctional in an ever more automated economy wherein the blue-collar ranks are shrinking; (2) the shortage of the skilled and highly skilled will intensify, as witness bottlenecks in scientific talent and the prevalence of overtime; (3) vastly greater labor mobility is the best answer, obtainable only through massive increases in training and re-training, in education at all levels, in supporting the relocation of employees and in guiding this process through a far more effective system of intelligence on job vacancies, trends, etc.

Myrdal points to the lengthening intervals of joblessness for the unemployed and the growing numbers among the long-term idle, and he demonstrates this is a structural malady redeemable only through active intervention. He also makes an incontrovertible case, or so it seems to me, for the Galbraithian emphasis on government spending for the basic social needs and amenities bypassed by a price-market system unresponsive to any sound but the siren call of the buck. This, of course, is pretty old hat. What isn't old hat is Myrdal's demonstration that the crucial investment today must be, not in conventional capital equipment, but in human beings, through education and training, and that this is the secret of economic growth in the age of the computer and the atom.

It is Michael Reagan's book, *The*

Managed Economy, to which one might well turn in order to place Myrdal's and Theobald's in perspective because Reagan's is an exceptionally intelligent, comprehensive, up-to-date exposition of the sophisticated liberal's answer to the question I posed at the outset. Reagan's is a sort of super primer, clearly reviewing the familiar data, fairly defining the issues and relentlessly establishing the case for an activist role by the federal government in the economic order. If at times he comes

perilously close to being the ritualistic liberal in his predictable comments on the outrages of television, the irresponsible power of corporations, etc., he more than compensates by the thoroughness of his purview of all the big issues. He is also to be commended for the boldness and clarity with which he specifies what can be done in the way of restructuring. And he makes most explicit the underlying aim of all three authors, which is to illuminate how we can and must be masters of our

fate and do it within a democratic framework, if we are to keep our self-respect.

Splendid Bishop

Bossuet. By E. E. Reynolds. Doubleday. \$4.95.

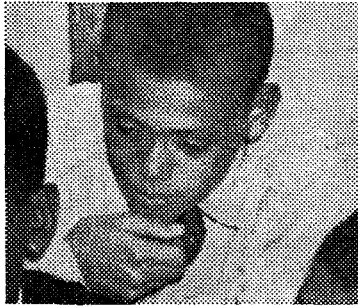
by John Ratté

DE MAISTRE wrote that Bossuet should have died after preaching his great sermon on the Unity of the Church in 1681 "just as Scipio Africanus should have died after the battle of Zama: there are moments in the lives of some great men after which they have nothing further to do in this world." E. E. Reynolds, in his tightly organized and neatly written survey of the life of the great seventeenth-century bishop of Meaux, tutor of the dauphin, brilliant orator, universal historian, defender of absolutism at its zenith, disagrees with this estimate. Taking a more balanced view of Bossuet's several overlapping careers, Reynolds is able to bring out the reasonableness of his adherence both to the unity and universality of the Church under the successor of Peter, and to the independence and authenticity of the forms and traditions of the Gallican Church.

Bossuet's high regard for the role of national divisions of the church, as well as his firm belief in the role of the bishops is emphasized here; nor is it a matter of coincidence, I think, that Reynolds brings out Bossuet's preference for the patristic over the scholastic presentation of the faith, and his great tolerance for the Protestant whose theology he was always willing to debate courteously. Though there is no deliberate pointing up of parallels between Bossuet's century and our own in matters of theology, ecclesiology, and ecumenism, the parallels occur to the reader nevertheless.

What was so splendid about the Bishop of Meaux was that characteristic which he shared with Erasmus: a refusal (or was it an innate incapacity?) to simply polarize the myriad religious and political problems of his day. Yet he was more successful in adhering to the *via media*

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than was Erasmus, though a comparison between the two men must of necessity be limited, for Bossuet was able to act, and to act often and decisively, as Erasmus was not. To each in the series of dichotomies which his life presented to Him—King or Pope, Jansenist or Jesuit, Gallican Church or Church universal, life of intellect or life of pastoral action—Bossuet said not 'either/or' but 'both.' One can only regret in reading this history that by accident of birth Bossuet was denied access to that kind of power which might have enabled him to play a decisive role in the unhappy years surrounding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His own tolerant and Christian dealings with the Huguenots in his younger days at Metz, and the high esteem in which he was held all during his life by Protestant pastors and diplomats leads one to think that he might have been able to forestall persecution.

From this good little book one draws a sense of the multiplicity of Bossuet's careers, of his tremendous energy, of his remarkable serenity and self confidence. Port Royal, the Gallican Declaration of 1682, the Revocation, the problems of reform in a dissolute age, when convents were fashionable resorts and monasteries centers of dissipation, the affair of Madame Guyon, Fenelon, are all reviewed. Although the tone here is frankly admiring and apologetic, by pointing out time and again the primacy of Bossuet's belief in the interconnectedness of the idea of the divine right of kings and the idea of Catholic Christianity, Mr. Reynolds is able to report the limitations of his subject in terms which are realistic, but which do little to damage the balance and order and completeness of this remarkable life.

Turgot to Comte

The Prophets of Paris. By Frank E. Manuel. Harvard University Press. \$7.50.

by Martin Peretz

CLIO has hitherto withheld due recognition from the men who people this book, but Professor Manuel's

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study of the "prophets of Paris" redresses the grievance with a generosity of imaginative conception equal in boldness and drama to the dreams of the visionaries themselves. This is intellectual history and biography in the grand sense, though its wit and grace will hardly surprise those who have learned from the author's earlier works, particularly *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*.

The five thinkers and the school here considered span a century, from the optimistic climax of the Enlightenment to the dawn of the present impasse in culture and feeling. But the hundred years between Turgot's formulation of a total philosophy of history and Comte's proscription of the moral life of man at history's

consummate moment emerge organically as the painstaking and detailed evolution of an idea. And since the idea at stake is that of progress, the variety of its possibilities and limitations, its lessons and injunctions, this is a volume of significance not only to scholars but to all who, proverbially, ponder the human condition. For the thought, at the beginning, of the *philosophe* who became finance minister to young Louis XVI and, at the end, of the "father of modern sociology"—as well as the doctrines of the scientist-politician Condorcet, the technocrat Saint Simon and his often erring disciples, the Phalansterian theorist of instinctual pleasures, Fourier—are pursued with rare clarity.

Manuel compels his readers to

take seriously these luminaries of the last great age of prophecy; and the urbanely mustered evidence cuts through the text-book banalities that have distorted beyond recognition our understanding of the concept of progress. Not that the familiar elements are slighted, neither the import of sheer mathematical accumulation, nor the analogy to the ordered laws of the physical world, nor the belief in different and distinct historical stages.

But these and similar simplistic equivalents are revealed as bare skeletal remnants, crude caricatures of overwhelmingly rich and complex systems. Retrospectively, one can dismiss the incidental insights of these secular mystics, their shallow science and hopeful psychologies. They have, however, all added substantively to what we are now able to see and comprehend of concrete experience; and in some instances they have probed with a depth which it is uncertain that we, or the notables of the academic pantheon, have surpassed.

It is in apprehending these, and in adding his highly suggestive nuances, that Manuel achieves the most refined mastery over the material, imposing these notions on our consciousness and requiring of our own thinking new dimensions of attention and sophistication. For an adequate history of work, for example, and an adequate history of emotions have not yet been written; when they finally are, Manuel's exposition and interpretation of the psychology of labor and the relativity of the erotic passions will be a certain guide to the necessary renovations of perceptions. While some of the wildest intuitions of the prophets are only now being pursued, others have become "canons" of "responsible" social science. As it happens, Manuel spares us the obsessive search for origins, the chronicling of ingenious anticipations. Yet

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he does suggest continuity and descent, though not as pedantry but as plea for revindication of intellectual fantasy and of theory itself.

In their own time, these men were all sectarians, for, despite occasional successes, their manifestoes to the city and the world were largely ignored. Since some of these were proclaimed from the asylum, it was quite reasonable that they were. But what contemporary conventional wisdom must have perceived to be their private disturbances no longer seem so outrageous. And they did presage our own time by investing their ultimate schemes with a quality of incredible spectacle akin to the new faiths, rational and efficient, by which men now live. The fulfillment of prophecy has not been without exception and perversion, which indeed, is the pathetic climax of the century of the great hope, that old happy time, as Nietzsche once called it.

This is a particularly rich work because it adds to the usual methods in the history of ideas the technique of psychological portraiture. As a genre, this poses innumerable pitfalls of which the current literature is full of examples: Erich Fromm's Freud is as sensational as an analyst-cum-popularizer can make him appear, and even Erik Erikson's very complex evocation of Luther reads like a clinician's report. But Manuel seems less shocked by frailty than Fromm at least, and in his sensitive hands the device is deftly used. Those who come to this book seeking a monolithic approach to endless subtlety will discover only the principle of plenitude—a valuable find. And those who come hoping for a sentimental rehabilitation of humanity's unabashed lovers will be firmly rebuffed.

The rehabilitation accorded these latter day Judeans is of a more formidable and complicated sort. For Manuel has argued, albeit grudgingly and not without recalling that the thunderers of despair know better, that even their blindness and persistent errors do not destroy them. What he calls "the secret lie of the prophets of Paris," "their refusal to contemplate the inherently tragic aspect of life," at least permitted

men to live and seek to conquer the "meaningless destructiveness of fate."

The fantasy consolations of history and philosophy, though hardly actual, may well have been socially real and not without merit. But such bountiful deceptions are hardly vouchsafed to this generation: a theoretically sound house may not be erected on a metaphysically condemned site. We no longer believe that regression is impossible; we no longer are easily persuaded of the progressive happiness of the race.

Yet the future is not closed, and Professor Manuel has beckoned us once again to the enterprise of speculation.

REVIEWERS

Edward T. Chase, a frequent contributor to these pages, writes frequently on social and cultural questions.

John Ratte is a member of the history department at Amherst College, Massachusetts.

Martin Peretz is a member of the faculty in the Department of Government at Harvard University.

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IF A POP artist painted like a New Imagist, the result might be Francis Bacon. It is hard to put this notion into other terms, but one might say that if a detective story had dialogue by Baudelaire one might get the same effect. This is not the whole story, and it applies most aptly to Bacon's worst work; in his best work a sudden gathering together of instinctive talents—insights and painterly bravura—bring off haunting images.

In critical commentaries a great deal is made of the fact that Bacon destroys more of his paintings than he preserves—it is part of the public legend of his eccentricity. One of the first impressions given by the quite fascinating retrospective of this contemporary British artist, now at the Guggenheim Museum in New York, is that one wonders at his system of preservation. Oddly enough—and this is a tribute to the power, sometimes purely perverse, of the artist—one really wishes to see what he threw away.

Like a Pop artist, Bacon gets his images from art, news photographs and films; like a New Imagist, he is obsessed by a vision of the human being in torment—flayed alive by Time. Technically he has been judged to be everything from "brilliant" (Soby) to terrible (several critics); I agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Soby, and believe this opinion would be justified by the Van Gogh series (included in the Guggenheim exhibition) alone—or even by just the livid portrait head, *Study of Drawing by Van Gogh*.

Bacon is said to paint with a one-inch brush such as you can buy at a hardware store and to maintain that "chance" is the operative element in painting—an existentialist view that may be linked to his penchant for gambling. However this may be, the result is that his pictorial statements are almost invariably strong and sometimes hallucinatory. It is my belief, however, that his painting never achieves complete plastic conviction because he never is wholly a painter; a jour-

nalistic temperament spoils those "chances" he takes.

A fervent desire to communicate a vision of human (or animal) nature under terrible stress is always foremost with Bacon. His caged and screaming figures, or their flesh in dissolution, are his dominant version of the human predicament. Sometimes these figures are planted in a landscape or trapped in trans-

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parent box-like patterns or isolated in "room" space, but the figures in every case pit their own quivering life against their background. They have the look of out-of-focus photographs or figures in a fun-house at their worst, but at their best they have a tremendous vitality. In some of his latest work these figures are, less effectively it seems to me, hemmed in by bourgeois impedimenta—lumpy couches and the like.

In fact, Bacon seems to be his own worst enemy in that his sense of the topical "in extremis"—based like a Pop artists on images-of-images—takes precedence over his plastic gifts and insights. The gauche ambiguity this leads to is nowhere sharper than in the triptych *Three Studies For a Crucifixion* (1962). The central panel depicts the "victim," flayed and quivering on a sort of operating table: on the left are two figures, like doctors caught by a camera on their way to the operation, or like muscled boxers on their way to the ring; on the right are the "remains" of the victim, a protoplasmic residue. Bacon's attempt to re-interpret the Crucifixion in terms of topical "suffering" is a perfect anomaly; it seems to me that the most destructive element in this painting is the topical one, and that the intrusion of a news-photo aspect is unassimilable with the grandeur of the theme.

The artist has been questioned about his religious beliefs because of this painting and others such as the admirable variations on the theme of Velasquez' *Pope Innocent X*, into which the image of the contemporary Pope Pius XII is successfully absorbed. Bacon explained that it was the humanity of his subject that interested him, rather than the religious context. In the *Studies for the Crucifixion* the humanity of the subject is an integral part of the religious context—a part that has often been emphasized in art, in Grünewald's apogee of suffering for example—so that Bacon's journalistic attempt to isolate it was doomed to failure.

Bacon is constantly attracted by the absolute, while he is committed to the accidental and to the perverse. His brilliant plastic gifts are

often twisted in this vice. The more grandiose his schemes—although he denies this aim, even if only by the simple device of referring to his work as a "study for"—the more violent he becomes, and the less hold he seems to have on both his brush and his subject. In *Study for a Figure in a Landscape*, in *Study of a Baboon*, in the brilliant Van Gogh and the Pope series he offers, on the other hand, intense and curious fresh insights rendered with painterly panache and fervor.

BETTY KAUFMAN

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